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Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL

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16 December 1985

WORLDWIDE REPORT

ARMS CONTROL

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 ERRATUM: On page "a" of the Table of Contents in JPRS-TAC-85-059 of 29 November 1985, substitute the category heading "U.S.-USSR Geneva Talks" for "European Conferences".	

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRENCH PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES SDI

PM201243 Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Nov 85 pp 9-18

[Speech by Prime Minister Laurent Fabius at 38th session of Higher National Defense Studies Institute on 13 September: "Patriotism, Independence, Solidarity"]

[Excerpt] This year negotiations between the Americans and Soviets opened in Geneva. We hope that this will produce a real agreement. We refused to allow the French force to be taken into account because it is independent and is on an entirely different scale compared to the arsenals of the two superpowers, which must take the first steps. In our view only a balance of forces at the lowest possible level can provide security and reassure countries like ours which want to maintain peace.

We are also in favor of stepping up the negotiations on disarmament in Europe which were started at the Stockholm conference. Before the suspension of its work in July 1986 we would like to secure practical and significant results for strengthening security on our continent. That disarmament conference is a forum in which imbalances in conventional weapons can really be discussed.

As far as space is concerned, we want to avoid the emergence of weapons which are highly destabilizing. We made constructive proposals to this end in Geneva. We want the 1972 ABM treaty to be safeguarded. We believe that the research being carried out on both sides should be consistent with the treaty.

France will not waver on these principles: There is no better basis for starting a process of thinking about the future.

For a year the questions modernization has presented our defense have increased, from the U.S. SDI to Europe's awakening to the technological challenges and its mobilization in the Eureka project, at France's initiative.

In the military sphere, as in the economic sphere, we are witnessing a change in the world. This is the result of the emergence of new technologies which are revolutionizing the spheres of data processing, materials, people's lives [le vivant], energy, and engineering. These new technologies, which all require considerable investment, can be the key to important strategic changes.

The two superpowers, which have reached a level of armament and destructive capability never before reached in history, are opposed certainly in ideology but especially in the desire for power. They are now directing all their energies toward gaining a credible superiority in numbers of weapons and scientific quality and toward gaining a dominant position in the dialectics of deterrence in which the perception of the threat posed by the other prevails over reality.

It is in this context that the U.S. SDI program should be analyzed, since it could affect the world strategic order which we have known for around 20 years. The U.S. program was initially presented as a defensive program which would destroy incoming enemy missiles in flight and no longer in their silos by a preemptive strike or by a retaliatory countercity strike. [as published] However, in practice it would mean the development and deployment in space of new weapons.

If this system were produced it would lead to the deployment of other, rival systems. It would also have the effect of generating new offensive weapons. There would be a new development in the struggle between the sword and the shield. The president of the Republic reaffirmed in particular our opposition to anything which would lead to excessive levels of arms in space.

We are aware of the efforts being made by the USSR in the ABM and antisatellite weapon sphere, but we nonetheless do not support the general concept underlying the SDI, which is that nuclear weapons would become impotent and outdated. This concept strikes us as highly hypothetical and hence debatable. The significance of technologies which, in some cases, do not yet exist could not lead to an abrupt change in strategic concept.

There is no reason to think that offensive weapons could disappear in the foreseeable future. We also think it debatable to try now to base a strategic concept on remote technological possibilities. Above all, it is dangerous to seek support for a set of arguments with statements which amount to a devaluation of what constitutes the very foundation of our security for a very long time to come, namely nuclear deterrence.

In the state of uncertainty which characterizes it, this U.S. initiative could therefore be a destabilizing influence on the strategic scene as a whole. In these circumstances France is in no position to support it.

On the other hand, we see the repercussions on U.S. research and industry of a program which hopes to have at its disposal \$26 billion to spend over 5 years. We are therefore determined, even if this determination is not new, to step up technological efforts in Europe to avoid lagging behind this vast mobilization of resources.

The technological thrust which is starting before our eyes will have repercussions outside the nuclear and space spheres. It will completely change the procedures of classical combat and the foreseeable general development will influence all the strategic choices. Anyone who is unable to make the necessary investments in men and resources will scarcely have any freedom of action any longer. The scale of the funds vital to a nuclear power like France leads to a clear definition of what should be done in cooperation with other countries and what should remain strictly national.

In view of these changes in the world balance, I would like to stress two prospects toward which France should move with determination: Europe's increased role in its own defense effort, and the vast mobilization to master future technologies, especially space technologies.

As soon as he decided to leave the integrated military organization, General de Gaulle set about defining structures for military cooperation with our allies. This effort has never stopped. It has become one of the cornerstones of France's foreign policy. The future of our defense cannot be dissociated from that of Europe.

France has suggested to its six partners in the West European Union that this organization should be revived to debate their common and individual security interests. Recognizing the changes in the idea of European security, France revived the provisions of the Elysee treaty back in 1982 and instituted a structure for diplomatic and military cooperation with the FRG which has no equivalent in Europe. This structure works in a pragmatic and detailed way to reflect in practice our growing number of security interests we have in common. Fortunately, this solidarity is complemented by our traditional relations with Britain--the only European nuclear power aside from France.

In this context, it is important to give closer consideration to an effective development of strategic cooperation among Europeans, without ignoring the vital need for a significant U.S. presence at our side. At the military level, interoperability and wherever possible, standardization within Western Europe's forces must be developed, in view of the ferocity of technological competition and the increasingly high cost of modern armaments. An accurate assessment of needs and abilities should in many cases make it possible to find joint European solutions.

Why deny the fact that in European arms production there are real difficulties connected with the inevitably competitive nature of dynamic national enterprises. The high quality of products from the other side of the Atlantic and the need for some European countries to participate in financing the American guarantee introduce an additional problem. This should certainly not stop us from constantly seeking equitable compromises aimed at the production of products which perform well. Europe has shown its abilities by carrying out numerous programs like Eurodif, Ariane, and Airbus.

There has been enough success in the history of European arms production for the necessary efforts to be continued by all. The third generation antitank missile program and the helicopter motor program should be followed by others. We have decided to continue to develop a ground support plane which corresponds to our needs and is based on our industrial and commercial know-how. It is different from the interceptor on which the four countries with which we had discussions are going to cooperate, but we still think that there are possibilities for coordinated aeronautical production.

The Eureka project, proposed by France, seeks to mobilize the European nations, some of which do not belong to the alliance, in the production of the high-technology equipment necessary for mastering future developments. Unlike the

SDI, it is not an arms program, although there are obvious repercussions on the strategic level for the European countries which so decide. In view of American and Japanese dynamism, the aim is to ensure a massive European presence in leading civilian sectors and to make up for a European lag which is due to the scattered nature of the efforts.

The Eureka project will lead to greater solidarity in Europe in the high-technology sphere. When he launched the European Coal and Steel Community 30 years ago Jean Monnet was already talking about areas of solidarity which existed in Europe.

What France now expects of Eureka is the strengthening of existing solidarity in Europe by voluntary agreements between two or more European enterprises in the spheres of information technologies, telecommunications, robotics, materials, production science [la productique], and plant and other living resources, but also advanced techniques for protecting the environment and for transport. The promoters of Eureka projects will certainly learn from the model of cooperation which the European Space Agency presents. Europe's capacity in the space sphere, which has been amply demonstrated by the successive Ariane launches will, we hope, lead as quickly as possible to the design and production of European space shuttles.

As you can see, France does not want to be overtaken or dictated to in the processes of change now going on. In keeping with its principles, it defines its own responses while taking into account the importance of what is at stake from the strategic and industrial viewpoints. It is these stakes which you must assess, bearing in mind the crucial requirement of French independence while showing solidarity with its allies.

The development of weapon systems and the diversity of theaters of operations make us more conscious than ever of the links between economic power and military power. Our entire modernization policy contributes to France's defense effort, and more specifically the modernization of our production apparatus, the modernization of our education system, and France's action to promote Third World development.

The spirit of defense and the spirit of modernization go hand in hand. The same vigilance and the same desire for independence inspire them. Our people are committed to this. This also shows the importance of civil defense, which makes it possible to struggle against all forms of threat and destabilization. The minister of the interior and decentralization, with the cooperation of other ministers, especially the defense minister, has made progress in drawing up an active policy in this respect. Local responsibilities are going to increase in this sphere, enabling the populations concerned to be increasingly involved in the different protection plans.

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CSO: 5200/2557

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER DISCUSSES SDI

LD282353 Paris Television Service in French 1935 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Interview with Defense Minister Paul Quiles by unidentified interviewer at Quiles' home in Paris; on the "Questions at Home" program--recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] Well, the other choices today are between conventional and nuclear war. You said that we can no longer ignore nuclear war. Then there is a basic last choice, whether we can use the phrase, between classical nuclear war and what is called "star wars." And "star wars," for the layman, seems quite seductive basically, because the idea is that rather than having the missiles detonate over your head, the battle will take place in space. Well, even if it's expensive, even if it takes a long time, even if it is in the long term, how can one say no to this war today. And here again have we not got the wrong military action by saying what you were saying just now about those who favor only tanks, those who today favor only the classical nuclear war? Is this not an obsolete war?

[Quiles] This is a very interesting question which one needs to respond at length, but I will try to be brief. It is important for French people to understand what "star wars" is. First, the Americans -- since it was President Reagan who spoke about it 2 years ago -- who brought up the Strategic Defense Initiative, the SDI. Then people started to call it "star wars". They then realized that war has a bad connotation, and now the Americans call it the peace shield. Well, it is very easy to imagine, but more difficult to achieve. It will be above our heads, at a very high altitude. There will be a set of 400 or 500 satellites, satellites for observation, killer satellites armed with lasers. This is the sort of thing young people dream about. In cartoons you see lasers that kill, particle beams, and so on. But all this is not a reality. We are told that it will be ready in 20 or 30 years and it will cost a \$1 trillion. Imagine what that means, more than \$1 trillion. An incredible number of shuttles will have to be launched into space to set up these satellites. For what effectiveness? No one can say today. A few days ago I heard a figure of 30 percent. What does that mean? That this space shield must prevent the missiles, the nuclear warheads from coming -- for the Americans -- from the Soviet Union toward their territory. But if the effectiveness is only 90 percent, the Russians have around 10,000 nuclear warheads, that means about a 1,000 warheads can get through. That means it can destroy the United States.

Thus I say there is a great danger here, which is ideological in nature. The Americans are being urged to believe that this space shield will make the nuclear risk disappear,

while on the contrary it will increase the risks of war. Because nuclear deterrence, on the basis of which we have been living for about 30 years, is the certainty that if you attack the enemy country it can respond -- what is called a counterstrike -- this is the reprisal. Thus you do not do it for fear of the reprisal. And the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have signed a whole series of treaties precisely to enable this deterrence to be developed. If "star wars", that is this SDI, is developed, there are extremely serious additional risks of conflict, and more serious for us, the French and Europeans. Some say it does not concern Europe because Europe can be reached from a distance of a few hundred kilometers. The Iron Curtain is 250 km from France, which can be reached by planes, by cruise missiles, by short-range missiles which will not go through space. Thus you see the risk of this concept is a risk of mystifying people, and one could even say that if it was in operation, well, conventional warfare would come into its own again, since there would no longer be any deterrence.

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRANCE'S MITTERRAND ON SDI, SUMMIT AT 21 NOV PRESS CONFERENCE

LD211800 Paris Domestic Service in French 1400 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Press conference held by President Francois Mitterrand at the Salle de Fetes in the Elysee Palace; identity of questioners not given--live]

[Excerpts] [Mitterrand] The Geneva summit has just ended in a good atmosphere, so we were told. I am pleased about this. France had been hoping for this and the mere fact that the dialogue has been resumed is, for those who are aware of the fragility of peace, a sign of hope. However, thanks to you, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to draw the attention of the French people to the fact that there are realities which will prevail after Geneva and for a long time, and that the French--since I am addressing them--call for their resolution in some straightforward manner. The first reality is that, whatever the results of the Geneva agreement, if any, the discrepancy between the nuclear armaments of the two greatest powers and the armaments of others -- France's and Great Britain's in particular -- will remain considerable. This should prompt us to persevere in our will to ensure our security through the strategic means we have chosen for ourselves which ensures our national independence and which we call our independent deterrence strategy. I know that a majority of the French people are agreed on this, but we must not close our eyes to the fact that events which are taking place today on the international scene must not decrease France's resolve at all.

The second reality is that the militarization of space, which is either being prepared or being developed here and there -- at least by the two superpowers -- will not cease due to a miracle. A lot more time will still be needed here, too, in order to reach agreements on limiting or stopping it, on limiting the research, without going as far as deployment. In the meantime -- because this is a different strategy, a ballistic one, this time, well outside the atmosphere -- France itself must prepare for it.

In the same way, the baton can be taken up [le relais pourrait etre assure] to acquire a sufficient potential in this very difficult sphere only if this concept becomes a European one. So we have to adapt and prepare for the technologies appropriate to this prospect, and particularly, I repeat, for space technologies. That is the second sphere in which I am sure of France's will, all the more so since it is exhilarating [exaltant]. Apart from the military problems there are answers to a number of civilian problems in learning about the subject and in man's mastery of the subject.

So there are two spheres then: that of our national independence, which is ensured by the independent deterrence strategy or deterrence force; and France's and Europe's

ability to master space, too. These spheres must be a matter of agreement for the French people, beyond the scope of electioneering, far beyond it -- spheres which are quite simply in France's interest. And you have understood perfectly well the third dimension contained in what I have just explained: That is, the dimension of Europe. Yes, defense and national independence, space, and Europe: These are three objectives and three realities which concern all the French people.

[Question] Mr President, in your preamble you stated your wish to see France have, in due course, a space shield -- a space shield with a European configuration, if I heard you correctly. So do you think that the time has come for a European defense?

[Mitterrand] You must not take things out of context. I brought up this problem at the Hague in 1984 by proposing the creation of a manned European space station and the matter has been brought up, and it needs to be dealt with. Europe cannot remain outside the realm of knowledge of this technology -- it cannot stay out of space. We already have communications satellites, observation satellites, but we also need this; we have set out civilian objectives for Eureka which, to be precise, will research, among different enterprises, the whole gamut of high technology, and lasers in particular, laser mirrors which demand the mastery of space. This objective is a civilian one, but this knowledge, quite clearly, has many different applications. It will not be possible for Europe, unless it wants to disappear, to stay out of space. If the two superpowers are imprudent enough to get involved in what is called "star wars," then my view is that anyone who wants to keep his independence will have to provide himself with means commensurate with his abilities and with the protection of his own territory.

Am I sketching a European defense in the full sense of the phrase? I don't think that these facts make European defense possible to the extent that certain people would like; there is the nuclear problem which arises, particularly in Germany. There is what Yalta has made of Europe, to use too simple a phrase, because in fact it is Europe (?as a territorial entity). But whenever I can add to the process of military science, military experimentation, and military application, then I keep my European partners, and particularly the German ones informed, and this is how I have kept alive the article of the presidential treaty signed between De Gaulle and Eisenhower which implied a joint approach particularly in the mutual knowledge of our strategies. This is where we are at now. The rest will come little by little.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

PRAVDA REPORTS GORBACHEV PRESS CONFERENCE

PM221027 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 85 Second Edition pp 1-3

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Press Conference"]

[Excerpts] M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held a press conference in the Soviet press center in Geneva on 21 November, for journalists covering the Soviet-U.S. meeting.

Addressing representatives of the mass media, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Our talks with the President of the United States of America, the first in 6 and 1/2 years, have just ended. This is undoubtedly a significant event in international life. The significance of the meeting will become even clearer if you bear in mind not only Soviet-U.S. relations, but also international relations in general, which are going through a special and, I would say, difficult period.

First, a few words about what went before the Geneva meeting. It was awaited impatiently throughout the world. People pinned great hopes on it for the improvement of the world situation and the lessening of international tension, which is reaching a dangerous level. True, doubts were also expressed: as to whether the confrontation between the two powers had gone too far for it to be possible to count on any accords at all. All this was the case, and you know it as well as we do.

As for the Soviet side, the Soviet Union, we were well aware of the real situation and did not entertain the slightest illusions about U.S. policy. We saw how far the militarization of the economy and even of political thinking had gone in that country.

But we were well aware that the situation in the world is too dangerous to neglect even the slightest chance of rectifying the situation and advancing toward a more stable and lasting peace.

Even during the run-up, for several months before the meeting, we had already begun, so to speak, to pave the way to the meeting and create a favorable climate for it. Back in the summer we unilaterally halted all nuclear explosions, expressing the readiness to resume talks immediately on completely ending nuclear tests. We also confirmed the unilateral moratorium on testing antisatellite weapons and, as you know, put forward radical proposals for reducing nuclear arsenals. Our proposals to

prevent the arms race from being transferred to space were accompanied by proposals on launching the broadest possible international cooperation on the peaceful exploration and use of space for the good of all the peoples.

I repeat, we did everything possible to lay the foundations for mutual understanding and improve the political atmosphere even before the meeting. During the run-up to the Geneva summit meeting, a session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee was held in Sofia, at which the voice of the socialist countries rang out strongly in defense of peace, the relaxation of tension, and cooperation, against the arms race, against confrontation, and for the improvement of the international situation in the interests of all the earth's peoples.

And although these steps of ours, dictated by a sense of responsibility for the fate of peace, did not meet with a due response from our partners in the forthcoming talks in Geneva, we adhered firmly to a constructive position. We considered it necessary to try by force of arguments, by force of example, by force of common sense, to break the dangerous course of events. The very complexity of the international situation convinced us that a direct conversation with the U.S. President is necessary. By virtue of the enormous role which both the Soviet Union and the United States play, there naturally arises the enormous responsibility of these states and their political leaders. This was our conclusion: The time has come when, under the threat of the universal nuclear danger, it is necessary to learn the great art of living together. Both our Soviet people and, I am profoundly convinced, the U.S. people have an equal interest in this. All the peoples of the world have an interest in it.

We were and are aware of the mood of the peoples in all countries in favor of peace, their desire not only to preserve peace, but also to improve the situation and achieve real progress in the struggle to end the arms race. This desire is growing and is of tremendous significance. Two significant conclusions can be drawn from it.

On the one hand — and this was a source of inspiration to us — what we are doing meets the hopes and aspirations of vast masses of people in the world, regardless of where they live or what political views, religious convictions, or traditions they have. On the other hand, it was not only a source of inspiration, it also imposed great obligations on us, above all an obligation to responsibility.

How can the present stage in the development of the international situation be characterized? To put it concisely: Growing responsibility for the future of the world. And this tremendous responsibility is understood by the peoples, and they are acting in the ways available to them.

It follows from this that this situation, this characterization, must nurture the policy of states and the practical actions of politicians. The absence of a policy adequate to the urgent needs felt by all the peoples of the world cannot be made good by propagandist packaging. The peoples have now learned to understand everything quickly and to put everything in its place.

That is my profound conviction. I and my colleagues in the Soviet Union and in the country's political leadership, seeing the situation in precisely that way, have focused our attention in a constructive direction, on the quest for ways to a better, more tranquil world.

The letters I have received from the Soviet Union, the United States, Australia, Europe, Asia, and Africa have made a tremendous impression on me — letters from children, women, men, veterans. It is important to stress that the young people of the whole planet have also actively raised their voice in these letters. Those to whom the future belongs, those who are embarking on life, are taking on their shoulders the responsibility for the future of the world.

Now for the meeting itself.

A considerable place was occupied by face-to-face conversations with President Reagan. Just now, when the U.S. President and I said good-bye, we wanted to calculate how many times we met one-on-one. We arrived at a figure of five or six. As a rule they were hour-long conversations, sometimes more. That is not merely arithmetic. The meetings were frank, prolonged, and blunt — at times extremely blunt [ostryy]. Nonetheless, it seems to me, they were to some extent productive. Of course, considerably more time was devoted to them than planned. I would say that they occupied the main time during these 2 days.

This enables us to discuss a wide range of problems face to face. The conversations took place in the language of politics, an open, forthright language, and I think that this was not only of great significance, but, I would say, decisive.

Above all, at these conversations, and also at the plenary sessions and in broad contacts between all members of the delegations and experts at the corresponding levels — and they were represented on the Soviet and U.S. sides by people of authority, well known not only in our countries, but throughout the world — all this taken together made it possible to do substantial work in the 2 days.

We presented to the President our considerations, our evaluation

of the world situation. The starting point of our analysis is this: In recent decades radical changes have taken place in the world which require a new approach, a fresh look at many things in foreign policy. The present international situation is characterized by a very important feature which both we and the United States must take into account in our foreign policy. What I mean is this: In present conditions it is not only a question of confrontation between the two social systems, but of a choice between survival and mutual destruction.

In other words, the objective course of the world process itself places the questions of war and peace, questions of survival, at the center of world politics. I wish to stress that I am specially using the word "survival" not in order to dramatize the situation and inspire fear, but in order to ensure that we all feel deeply and are aware of the realities of today's world.

The problem of war and peace is a priority problem, a burning issue which affects the interests of all of us who live on earth. I would like to stress that this problem has moved to the center of world politics. We cannot avoid seeking solutions to this vital problem. We are convinced of that. That is the Soviet people's will, that is the will of the U.S. people and of all peoples. That is the first thing.

The second thing: Again we drew the U.S. side's attention to the following circumstances — of which I have already spoken. They are circumstances of such importance, and we attach such major significance to them, that we deemed it necessary to speak of them again at the Geneva meeting; namely, it is a fact that even now it is very difficult for us to embark on a productive dialogue and talks on questions of ending the arms race and nuclear disarmament. Tomorrow it will be even more difficult to do so.

That is why the meeting was necessary and responsible dialogue was necessary. We have all reached the point where we have to stop, look around, think, and on the basis of the realities, on the basis of a broad approach to the definition of national interests, decide what to do next in the world. In the course of the meetings and conversations, I wished to understand what is the present U.S. Administration's position on this cardinal question — the question of war and peace.

We have all read a great deal about this. And you journalists, in general, have also said a great deal on this score. But for those who take the decisions, it is important to understand the initial, starting point in the formation of our partner's policy, the initial idea behind the present U.S. Administration's foreign policy. Much work and effort were required in order to evaluate everything without prejudice, with a great sense of responsibility, and taking a broad view, and to find an answer to this very important question.

This analysis showed that for all the difference in the side's approaches and the evaluations which were revealed in the course of this serious and necessary work — without having done it, we could not have gone to the meeting — we saw that we have, it seems to me, something in common which could form the starting point for an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations: the awareness that nuclear war is impermissible, that it must not be waged, and that there can be no winners in such a war. This idea was expressed more than once both on our side and on the U.S.

side. The conclusion that follows from this is that the central problem in relations between our countries at the present stage is the problem of security. We resolutely advocate that agreements be reached ensuring identical security for both countries.

We believe that on this basis it will be possible to achieve a consistent strengthening of mutual trust, an overall improvement of the political atmosphere, in which it is possible to hope for the development of political dialogue and the fruitful discussion of economic and humanitarian problems, the problems of contacts and mutual information. This is the key to the problem of preserving life on earth and changing the atmosphere in the direction of good will.

We told the President that we have not sought and will not strive for military superiority over the United States. Moreover, more than once, face to face and at the plenary sessions, I tried to express our profound conviction that a lower level of security for the United States compared with the Soviet Union would be disadvantageous to us, because it would lead to distrust and give rise to instability. We are counting on a similar U.S. approach as regards our country. At the same time we told the President that in no event will we permit the United States to obtain military superiority over us. It seems to me that this is a logical way of putting it. Both sides must get used to strategic parity as the natural state of Soviet-U.S. relations. If we are to talk about anything, it must be about how to lower the level of that parity by mutual efforts; in other words, to implement real measures to reduce nuclear arms on a reciprocal basis. That is a field of activity worthy of the leaders of such great states as the Soviet Union and the United States, and of other state leaders, since it is a common issue for us.

But another conclusion of fundamental significance also arises quite logically from this. Neither of us, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union, should do anything to open the doors to an arms race in new spheres, specifically in space. If the doors into space were opened for weapons, the scale of military rivalry would increase immeasurably and the arms race would — this can already be predicted to some extent — take on an irreversible character and get out of control. In this case each side would at any moment have the feeling that it is losing in some respect and it would start feverishly seeking more and more new ways of responding; and that would whip up the arms race all the time, not only in space, but also on earth, since the responses need not necessarily be in the same sphere. The need only be effective.

I am reasoning in the way I reasoned when I spoke with the President. If this situation arises, then, I repeat, the possibility of any kind of agreement on restraining military rivalry and the arms race will become highly problematical. I wish to go back to what I have already said: The present time is characterized by the fact that we have reached a certain point. And if we do not think and consider in a truly responsible way, then as a result of incorrect, erroneous conclusions on the part of politicians, steps could be taken which will result in grave consequences for all the peoples.

Of course, differences will remain between our countries. Rivalry will also persist. But it is necessary to ensure that it does not go beyond the bounds of the permissible, does not lead to military

confrontation. Let each of the social systems demonstrate its advantages by means of setting an example.

We are well aware not only of the weak points, but of the strong points of U.S. society and of the other developed countries. We know their achievements and their potential. Naturally, we know our own potential better, including our unrealized potential. In a word, we are in favor of competition with the United States, active competition. History itself, and not merely theoretical considerations and reasonings, has confirmed the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

I wish to return once again to the main question which was, as it were, the pivot of the meeting in Geneva. There was not a single session, not a single one-on-one meeting, at which questions of war and peace and arms control did not occupy the central place. This was the pivot of the Geneva meeting. We explained to the U.S. side that the "star wars" program will not only impart impetus to the arms race in all kinds of arms but will also put an end to any containment [sderzhivaniye] of this race. In response we were repeatedly told about the allegedly defensive nature of the large-scale ABM system with space-based elements. We were asked: What would you tell your people after Geneva if you gave up the introduction of strategic arms reductions? Our reply to this was as follows — and I will repeat it: This is not the case. We are prepared for a radical reduction in nuclear weapons provided that the door to the development of an arms race in space is firmly shut. Given this condition we are prepared to travel the first stage on the basis of the application of the 50-percent principle of nuclear arms reductions and then, involving the other nuclear powers, to advance further along the path of radical reductions.

In a certain part of the world, maybe even among some political figures, and in journalistic circles there is a kind of certain positive reaction to SDI, so to speak. It is allegedly a defensive weapon, some kind of shield. This is absolutely not so. Essentially — taking into account the fact that mountains of weapons have already accumulated in the world, an arms race is in progress, and we cannot cope with this process in any way, take it in hand, and curb and reverse it — what the United States is proposing to us in this most complex situation is the initiation of a competition in space. Who can guarantee that in that case we would be at all able to organize productive talks of some kind? I believe that no sober-minded person could give such a guarantee. The U.S. side does not wish to acknowledge that SDI means putting weapons into space. These are indeed weapons. They — U.S. and Soviet weapons — would be flying in waves above people's heads. We would all gaze at the sky and anticipate what would rain down from it. Let us imagine — and we said this to the U.S. side — the consequences of even an accidental collision in space. let us say that something breaks off a missile — the tip [golovnaya chast], shall we say, carries on while the delivery vehicle [nesushchaya chast] falls away and collides with a cluster of these space weapons. Signals would go out, which would be interpreted almost as an attempt by the other side — in this instance I am not talking about our side or any particular side — as a signal that an attempt is being made to destroy these weapons. All the computers are switched on, and in this situation politicians can do nothing sensible at all. What, are we going to be the prisoner of these events? Many pictures of this kind could be painted. I told the U.S. President: We feel that this idea has captivated

him as a man, and to some extent we can understand this. But his position as a politician responsible for such a powerful state and for security questions is incomprehensible to us in this matter. We believe that following our talks the U.S. side will weigh most responsibly everything that we said on this subject.

We can see that it again became clear at the meeting that the United States does not like our logic and that we can in no way discern logic in their arguments. They say: Believe us that if the United States realizes SDI first, they will share it with the Soviet Union. I then said: Mr President, I urge you, believe us — we have already said on this score that we will not be the first to use nuclear weapons and will not attack the United States. So why do you, while retaining an entire offensive potential on earth and under water, still intend to unleash an arms race in space? Do you not believe us? It transpires that you do not believe us. So why should we believe you more than you believe us? Especially since we have grounds for not believing you since we are extending an invitation not to go into space and to engage in disarmament on earth. All this is comprehensible to everybody.

In general I would like to hope that this is not the U.S. side's final word. The conversation with the President was detailed; we listened attentively to each other's arguments and took note of it all. If the United States finds the will and determination to again ponder and assess all the deleterious aspects and consequences of the "star wars" program the way will be opened for the constructive solution of problems of international security and the ending of the arms race. When I say this, I bear in mind that this also applies to monitoring problems. Numerous speculations are being built around this problem, with the USSR's position being deliberately distorted. But the truth is that the Soviet Union is open to monitoring. If agreement is reached on banning the putting of weapons into space, we are prepared on a reciprocal basis to open our laboratories for monitoring of such an accord. But the kind of thing that is being proposed to us is: Let us open up the laboratories and monitor the progress of the arms race in space. This is naivete, and moreover the point of departure is flawed and unacceptable.

If the U.S. side also ends any nuclear weapon tests and we conclude an agreement on this, again there will be no problems from our side with respect to monitoring, including international monitoring.

If the two sides agree to reduce nuclear weapons by 50 percent, it is of course necessary to monitor the reduction process; and we have no less interest in this than does the United States.

I wish to say in literally a couple of words that, at this stage, differences of position emerged with respect to a 50-percent reduction of nuclear weapons. We have criticisms of the draft submitted by the United States, and the United States has criticisms of our drafts. but we do not dramatize these differences and are prepared to seek a mutually acceptable solution — if, of course, an arms race is not started in space. The two sides' proposals are a basis for seeking mutually acceptable solutions. Compromises are possible here; time and clarification of the situation will be required. We are prepared to seek these solutions proceeding from the fundamental principle that we do not seek to achieve military superiority and are in favor of equal security.

I want particularly to draw your attention to the fact that it was decided to jointly approach a number of other states concerning cooperation in the sphere of thermonuclear fusion. This is a very interesting idea. Its implementation could mark the start of a new chapter in an exceedingly important area: providing mankind with an essentially inexhaustible source of energy. This is a field for joint activity; and, incidentally, it needs enormous effort on the part of scientists, an enormous technological effort, and new technical decisions — all this will advance technical progress and technology.

From the viewpoint of the political results and consequences of the meeting, it is important, it seems to me, to consider yet another factor. We have seen the major political impact of the meeting. It has revealed and stimulated world public interest in the problems of Soviet-U.S. relations, the danger of the arms race, and the need to normalize the situation.

I must mention a few episodes in this connection. The day before yesterday our mission was visited by a group of leaders of U.S. pacifist movements, headed by the prominent politician Jesse Jackson. I want to say that we have seen and do see them as worthy and estimable U.S. citizens representing millions of inhabitants of the United States who signed an appeal to President Reagan and myself hoping that the meeting would be successful and containing specific proposals on strengthening peace, including a call for an end to nuclear tests. U.S. war veterans, participants in the meeting on the Elbe, have come to Geneva; representatives of many public organizations in other countries, including children's organizations, have also been here. At my request, the group was received by the Soviet delegation. It was a moving meeting. In addition to that is the fact that we have constantly been aware of the powerful support and solidarity of our socialist friends and the nonaligned countries. Prior to the meeting the leaders of six states — India, Mexico, Argentina, Tanzania, Greece, and Sweden — proposed a freeze on all types of nuclear weapons. We value highly their initiative. A large group of Nobel Prize winners put forward proposals which I was prepared to endorse immediately, except for one. There was one request or demand: Do not leave Geneva until you have reached agreement. It was risky to agree to that. It might have been a long time before I returned home (animation in the auditorium). I would react differently now. I would certainly endorse this point. (laughter in the auditorium, applause).

Esteemed gentlemen, ladies, and comrades, at decisive and critical stages in history moments of truth are absolutely vital. The international situation has become too dangerous because of the intensification of the arms race, and there have been too many fables on this score to intimidate people. There has arisen a real need to clear the air and verify words by action. The best way to do this is to have a direct discussion, the kind of discussion you would normally expect at a summit meeting, particularly when you consider our states and their role and responsibility in the world. In this case the discussion of problems is transferred to a new plane, where it is no longer possible to hide from the truth. So when we talk about the general results of the meeting, there is scarcely going to be one correct and straightforward assessment. Of course, it would have been far better if in Geneva we had reached agreement on the main, key problem — ending the arms race. This did not happen, unfortunately.

The U.S. side was not yet ready for major decisions. But I think that the process as a whole could not have been solved in those 2 days even if it had been on that wavelength. We have the mechanism. But, at the same time, the meeting was too important an event to be evaluated in oversimplified terms. It provided a clearer picture of the nature of our differences and made it possible to dismiss — at least that is what I believe and hope — certain biased opinions about the USSR and the policy of its leadership and remove some of the prejudices that have built up. This may have a beneficial effect on the future process of the development of events. Trust is not restored right away; it is a difficult process. We have heeded the U.S. President's assurances that the United States is not seeking superiority and does not want nuclear war. We sincerely want these statements to be confirmed by action.

I would like to see the meeting as the start of a dialogue aimed at achieving changes for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the world in general. And in this sense I would assess the meeting as having created opportunities for progress.

This is our general assessment of the results and significance of the meeting. And it gives me grounds, as I leave hospitable Geneva, for viewing the future with optimism. Common sense must triumph. Until we meet again. (applause).

M.S. Gorbachev then answered journalists' questions.

Question (BBC, Britain): Mr General Secretary, what, in your view, are the prospects for the development of mutual relations between the USSR and the United States and the international situation as a whole after the Geneva meeting?

Answer: I am still optimistic about the future. If we all continue to act in the spirit of responsibility, both in Soviet-U.S. relations and in international relations as a whole, which was felt at the Geneva meeting, we will find answers to the most urgent problems and approaches to their solution. I am deeply convinced of this.

Question (U.S. NBC television): You said you were disappointed with President Reagan's answer on SDI. After the meeting there are still as many weapons as there were before the meeting. Can one say that the world is a safer place after Geneva? If so, why?

Answer: I will take the liberty of saying that although there are as many weapons as before the meeting, the world has become a safer place. At any rate, it appears to me that the meeting itself and its results are a definite contribution to the strengthening of security, since the meeting represents the start of the path to dialogue, to understanding — that is, to what helps to strengthen security. Geneva has had a political impact in this area.

Question (*PRAVDA*): What specific, practical steps could the Soviet Union and the United States take to ensure an immediate end to the arms race?

Answer: Although I have devoted an entire speech to this, I want to say once again: We must stop.

If we prevent the arms race in space, both our proposals and what the U.S. side is proposing make it possible to move forward, to

seek compromises and strive for parity at a lower level. There is a good mechanism for this — the Geneva talks.

I would add that we hope that the U.S. Administration has not yet said its final word on the banning of all nuclear weapon tests. The whole world wants this. The U.S. side still has time to ponder the situation. A positive decision would be an enormous step which would stimulate the process of halting and reducing the arms race.

I think that this process would be facilitated by the further deepening of dialogue between the USSR and the United States. We have agreed to expand it and I think that participation in political dialogue by our countries' top leaders will contribute to the process of discontinuation of the arms race.

And another thing: What is being discussed at the Geneva talks — that is, the objectives and subject of the talks — is a matter for all the peoples. Responsible politicians, above all state leaders, must adopt a firm and constructive stance on this question. This would be of enormous significance.

I think that the vast majority of politicians want to speed up the quest for solutions in Geneva and to find ways to halt the arms race and effect disarmament.

Question (GDR television): What, in your opinion, are the most important results of the meeting? And another question: What is the significance of political dialogue at the highest level?

Answer: In answer to your question, I would like to stress first of all that the Geneva meeting is an important stage in Soviet-U.S. relations. It lays the foundations for the quest for ways of improving them and normalizing them in all salients. If this quest is continued in further joint efforts by the two sides, this will help to improve the world situation. That, I would say, is the political result.

At the Geneva meeting attention was centered on questions of concern to the peoples of the world. The joint statement of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to the effect that nuclear war is impossible, that it must never be unleashed, that they do not seek military superiority, that they will give new impetus to the Geneva talks — this in itself is of tremendous significance, if it is consistently implemented in practical steps.

Now your second question. I think the meeting showed that under all conditions we should seek to maintain political dialogue, which makes it possible to compare our positions, understand each other better, and on this basis seek mutually acceptable solutions to the vital problems of today.

Question (Swiss radio): You stressed the profound difference in the positions of the USSR and the United States on "star wars." Does not this hamper progress at the Geneva talks?

Answer: I do not want to repeat what has been said. Our position can be expressed in a few words. We adhere to a constructive line at the Geneva talks. We will seek a solution in order to stop the arms race and achieve a radical reduction in nuclear arms, so that at some subsequent stage we can really approach the elimination of nuclear weapons with the participation of all nuclear powers. It is our firm belief that this is possible,

if the door is firmly closed on the development of an arms race in space.

Question (AP): You spoke of the President's personal commitment to the "star wars" program and said that you discussed the SDI in detail. How did he treat your arguments? How did he react to them? Do you see a possibility of breaking the deadlock on this issue?

Answer: I think that after the meeting the U.S. side has grounds to consider everything that we said. We hope that our arguments will be understood. They embody a meaning which, as we see it, is in line with the spirit of the January accord; namely, that as a result of the Geneva talks, we must take the path of radical reductions in nuclear arms provided that an arms race in space is prevented.

This objective was jointly determined by us earlier. The U.S. President declares that SDI is a shield. I hope that we demonstrated convincingly that it is a space weapon which could be used against missiles, against satellites, and against targets on earth. This is a new type of weapon. A new sphere of the arms race is thereby opened up. This is unacceptable. This would complicate the entire situation and would create a problematic atmosphere at the Geneva talks.

This is why I value the fact that it has been emphasized at the level of the U.S. President and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that work at the Geneva talks will be accelerated on the basis of the January accord.

This is now a viewpoint which is backed not only by the signatures of foreign ministers but also by the leaders of the two states. We regard this as a certain signal and hope.

Question (BBC, Britain): If it proves impossible to agree on ending the arms race in space, will the Soviet Union be able to compete with U.S. technology in this sphere, or will it fall behind the United States?

Answer: You have touched on a very interesting question. During a frank and direct conversation, I tried to explain to the President that it seems to me that a great deal in U.S. policy regarding the Soviet Union is based on delusions. On the one hand, they hope that the arms race and its continuation will exhaust the Soviet Union economically, will weaken its influence in the world, and will thereby free the hands of the United States of America. History disgraced these prophets. And this was at a time when our society possessed a potential different from today's and lesser opportunities. Now we possess a tremendous potential. And delusions about us only hamper the pursuit of a realistic policy.

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On the other hand there were also delusions with regard to military calculations. They tried to overtake us. They adopted intercontinental ballistic missiles as part of their armory. This was followed by the response. The response came a little late, but it came. Then multiple [razdelyayushchiye] nuclear warheads appeared. Followed by the response. We have always found a response. I think that the illusions existing in U.S. military circles have now been passed on in some degree to political circles, and in particular to the President, perhaps. I do not claim this, but that was the impression we formed.

The United States clearly believes that it has something of a lead on us in certain types of technology, in computer and radioelectronic technology. Once again a desire is emerging to seize this "advantage" and to secure military superiority for themselves. The well-known phrase of President Johnson's, who once said that the nation that dominates in space will also dominate on earth, is again in vogue. Some people are clearly itching to achieve world domination and to look down haughtily on the world. These are the old ambitions of former years. The world has changed a great deal in many respects.

So when it comes to the so-called technological superiority that it is planned to embody in the SDI, thus placing the Soviet Union in a difficult position, what I want to say is: This is another delusion. A response will be found.

I said as much to the President: "You must bear in mind that you are not dealing with simpletons."

If the President is so committed to the SDI, we naturally regard it as our duty to thoroughly investigate the "star wars" program. And we have examined the problem. Especially as the U.S. side is putting forward a kind of invitation: Let's see, let's take a look, let's discuss not the question of preventing the militarization of space but what weapons to take into space. we are against this. we are against an arms race in space.

We also analyzed the other aspect of the question: Suppose the United States does not accept our arguments, does not appreciate our good will and our call to seek a way out along the road of ending the arms race and reducing the existing nuclear weapons; in other words, suppose they travel the former path. We will of course find a response. The Soviet leadership once gave appropriate instructions to the competent organizations and scientists, and we can say that our response will be effective, less expensive, and able to be implemented in a shorter time. But this is not our political choice. That choice is to induce the United States nonetheless to consider the whole situation and pursue a responsible policy on a basis of common sense, on a basis of consideration of people's sentiments and aspirations, and not to complicate this, the most acute problem in international relations.

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GORBACHEV MEETS WITH U.S. PEACE DELEGATION

LD192048 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 85

[From the "Vremya" newscast; B. Kalyagin video report from Geneva]

[Text] The summit meeting, which opened today, is arousing vast interest in the world. These days many political and public figures have come to Geneva from many countries of the planet in order to be witnesses to the historical event, to say their good wishes and parting words to participants in the talks. Among these are peace supporters from the United States. They wish to state here that far from everyone in the United States is interested in continuing the arms race. According to opinion polls the majority of Americans come out in favor of giving up the "star wars" plans, reducing nuclear missile systems, and improving relations with the USSR.

The anti-war mood of the U.S. people is a real political factor which the White House must take into account. The leaders of the U.S. peace supporters who had come to Geneva asked Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for a meeting. Despite being very busy and having a heavy work schedule, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary found time to talk with the strugglers for peace from the United States. These emissaries represent dozens of public organizations with an overall membership of hundreds of thousands of people.

Speaking on behalf of the U.S. peace supporters, Jesse Jackson, former Democratic contender for the post of U.S. president, thanked Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for the opportunity to meet him. He expressed the hope that the Geneva summit would be crowned with success and would help ensure that relations between the USSR and the United States would be built on foundations of greater trust. Jackson brought a message from U.S. peace supporters to the leaders of the two great powers calling for the total cessation of all nuclear tests and the freezing of the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals.

As is known, the USSR puts forward an analogous initiative.

Then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed the U.S. public representatives:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] All the peoples are expecting a lot from Geneva, from the meeting between the U.S. President and

the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. How is one to explain the role which is played by the United States and the USSR in the world today?

They are the most powerful powers and they have a vast economic potential, scientific-technical potential, trained personnel potential, and — there is no denying it — the most powerful military potential. It seems to me that, on the one hand, this indicates the role and place of these states in international relations. At the same time, I think — to no lesser extent and perhaps even to a greater extent — it also indicates the responsibility which is borne by these states and their political leaders.

It is with a feeling of understanding of this responsibility that I and my colleagues have come to Geneva in order to discuss questions in whose solution the Soviet and U.S. peoples and, I suppose, the peoples of Europe to no lesser extent and those of other continents of the world are vitally interested.

I wish to continue this thought about responsibility, especially the responsibility of the United States and the USSR and their leaders for the world situation and to say the following: I have already had occasion to say this, but I wish to repeat this because it is precisely this which provides the incentive for our foreign policy: We in the USSR, relying on a knowledge of the processes, the real processes which are now under way in science, technology, and economics have come to the firm conviction that a period has arrived when it is necessary to stop the arms race; for the further achievements of science, equipment, and technology are such that they can lead to new types of weapons, to qualitatively new types of weapons which are even more dangerous and which cannot be subject to controls. Moreover, this arms race could move into other spheres and then the problem of arms control would become very problematical and we could all be our own hostages. This is what is being attempted by certain circles.

We in the USSR are firmly convinced that a stop must be made. A stop must be made and questions of disarmament must be taken up. It is precisely this, and nothing else at all, which lies behind our proposals and our series of unilateral moratoria, including the moratorium on explosions in all spheres until 1

January, even peaceful ones. All explosions have ceased. We have made a number of other proposals, major and serious ones.

We have done this to show with real steps, to give real impetus for our partners throughout the world and first of all, for the United States; to invite them to meet us half way; and to look for a solution, while there is still time. Although, already now, all should know, already know, it is difficult to hold talks. If, however, all this unfolds, all that I am speaking about, spreads to new spheres, to new rounds of the arms race, I do not know how difficult it will be to start these talks then. For this reason, it is very important to start these conversations now. And what you are saying, expressing the view of broad circles of the U.S. public, namely, that you are interested in peace, in the preservation of peace, in averting war, this fully impresses our people, fully coincides with its view, and its view is precisely at the basis of our policy. This policy, these proposals, and the proposals ensuing from this policy of ours, we have brought to Geneva. And we shall insist that, in this case, we are pursuing the right policy and, further, we shall extend an invitation for it to be pursued jointly with the U.S. side. [end recording]

At the conclusion of the meeting, the U.S. public figures presented Comrade Gorbachev with a peace petition which was signed by 1.5 million Americans.

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PRAVDA COMMENT ON REAGAN'S SPEECH TO CONGRESS

LD221622 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 85 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "R. Reagan Congress Speech"]

[Excerpts]

Washington, 23 Nov -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan addressed the joint session of the two houses of the U.S. Congress with a speech in which he gave his evaluation of the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit. I have just come from Geneva and talks with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, he said. I can't claim we had a meeting of the minds on such fundamentals as ideology or national purpose -- but we understand each other better. That is the key to peace. I gained a wider and more correct perspective, I feel he did, too.

It was a constructive meeting; so constructive, in fact, that I look forward to welcoming Mr Gorbachev to the United States next year. And I have accepted his invitation to go to Moscow later. I found Mr Gorbachev to be an energetic defender of Soviet policy.

Turning to Soviet-U.S. relations, Reagan said: We cannot assume that the ideology and purpose of the Soviet Union will change, and this implies enduring competition. Our task is to assure that this competition remains peaceful. We were specially eager at the Geneva talks that our meetings give a push to important talks already under way on reducing nuclear weapons. We discussed the great issues of our time. We discussed nuclear arms and how to reduce them. I am pleased to report that Mikhail Gorbachev and I did make a measure of progress here. While we still have a long way to go, we're at least heading in the right direction. We moved questions of arms control forward. We are both instructing our negotiators to hasten their vital work. The world is waiting for results. Specifically, we agreed in Geneva that each side should move to cut offensive nuclear arms by 50 percent in appropriate categories. In our joint statement we called for early progress on this, turning the talks toward our chief goal -- reductions in nuclear armaments. We called for an interim accord on intermediate-range nuclear forces, all this with tough verification of treaty commitments. [TASS International Service in Russian at 2140 GMT 22 November in a report on President Reagan's address to Congress, renders the preceding sentence as: "We called for an interim accord on medium-range missiles (pomezhutochnogo soglasheniya po raketam sredney dalnosti) all this with tough verification of treaty commitments."]

We also made progress in combatting together the spread of nuclear weapons, an arms control area in which we've cooperated effectively over the years. We are also opening

a dialogue on combatting the spread and use of chemical weapons, while moving to ban them altogether. Other dialogues on various aspects of arms control also received a boost. Finally, we agreed to begin work on the establishment of nuclear war risk reduction centers. Ronald Reagan said that he had described in Geneva his "Strategic Defense Initiative," and noted that the discussion of that question produced "a very direct exchange of views." he repeated Washington's well-known position on plans to militarize space, according to which the SDI constitutes "defensive weapons." He said that the United States does not "seek a first strike advantage over the Soviet Union."

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR COMMENT ON WEINBERGER LETTER

'In Tune' With Administration

LD191314 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Station Commentary]

[Text] Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is not on the American team in Geneva but his presence or, rather, the presence of those who wouldn't want any arms control agreement is very much felt. Here are some details.

In his letter to the White House, sent on the eve of President Reagan's departure for Geneva, Caspar Weinberger took an uncompromising stance against even the hint of a breakthrough on arms control. Two key elements of Weinberger's advice were not to make any pledge to continue to honor the unratified SALT II treaty and avoid any commitment to a so-called restrictive interpretation of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty of 1972. Asked if Weinberger would be fired for throwing a pall over the administration's efforts to convince the public of its sincerity in seeking mutually acceptable solutions with the Soviet Union, the President answered "hell, no." There appeared to be no need to fire the defense secretary because his views are perfectly in tune with those of the administration. He may be less diplomatic about choosing words than the President's aides but he certainly reflects the current thinking in Washington.

To say no to arms control is automatically to say yes to the arms race. There can be no golden mean. When the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped all nuclear testing it was not to impress anybody. The step was taken to make it more difficult for both sides to perfect nuclear warheads and therefore to help the arms race.

When the United States refused to follow suit it was because Washington's intentions were different. For example, continued nuclear testing was vital for the program of building small nuclear warheads to be used as a source of energy for X-ray lasers. All other explanations or interpretations of the Soviet decision and the American not to join are immaterial or a diversion to fool the public. The same is true of the other Soviet moratoriums, that is on launching anti-satellite weapons and on the deployment of medium-range missiles. There has simply got to be a beginning, a first step or somebody's initiative in slowing down, and we feel proud here that it was our country to have done so.

Cultural exchanges or those in sports and other areas are important. The more we see each other or know each other the better. But isn't it somewhat amazing that such

exchanges should be carried out in an atmosphere of military competition which boils down to the sharpening of knives. Would't it be more logical to slow down the arms race and then stop it altogether in the name of well-being of future generations?

Reacting to Weinberger's letter, some American official said he needed never have sent it. It always pays to know for sure what the other side is up to. Caspar Weinberger was very candid in this respect.

Shows Internal Struggle Within U.S.

LD191333 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Washington, November 19 TASS -- U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has ordered an inquiry at the Pentagon to find out how information on his letter to President Reagan on the eve of the summit meeting leaked into the press. As is known, his letter recommended the President to adopt a "firm" stand at the Geneva talks and not to agree to any arms control measures that would jeopardize U.S. military programs and its plans for militarization of space. Most observers qualified this message of the Pentagon's chief as a direct attempt to sabotage the Soviet-American summit.

Commenting on this incident the ABC television company recalls that it was not for the first time that Caspar Weinberger tried to block the process of curbing the arms race. Not long ago, ABC says, Weinberger spoke out in favor of a "new interpretation" of the Soviet-American ABM treaty, an interpretation that would enable the Pentagon to conduct early tests of space-based armaments. Eventually a more restrictive interpretation prevailed. However, observers stress, the administration reserves the right to return in the future to a "broader" interpretation which would mean in fact violation of the letter and spirit of this major Soviet-American document on arms control.

The Pentagon's chief also says no to those members of the U.S. Administration who come out in favor of discussing possibilities for limiting the "Strategic Defense Initiative" in exchange for limitations in offensive strategic armaments, ABC says. Representatives of the administration in Geneva, particularly Robert McFarlane, assistant to the president for national security affairs, are trying to belittle the significance of these arguments. But others believe that internal struggle within the U.S. leadership has serious implications. There is no agreement within the administration, internal disputes are deep and the opposing sides have no intention of backing down. That is one of the reasons, ABC says, why people here do not expect the summit to make great progress on arms control.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

PRAVDA PUBLISHES JOINT SUMMIT STATEMENT

LD211115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 85 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement"]

[Excerpts] By mutual agreement, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan met in Geneva 19-21 November, 1985.

Basic [osnovnyy] questions of Soviet-U.S. relations and the present-day international situation as a whole were comprehensively discussed during the exchange of opinions that took place. The discussions were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of key issues.

While acknowledging the differences in the sociopolitical systems of the USSR and the United States and their approaches to international problems, the two leaders gained at the same time a better understanding of each other's positions. They agreed about the need to improve Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation as a whole. In this connection the two sides confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their serious desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

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The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the United States for maintaining peace, are stating that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the United States could have catastrophic consequences, they also emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

The general secretary and the President discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement of 8 January 1985, namely: to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

Noting the proposals recently tabled by the Soviet Union and the United States, they called for early progress, particularly in areas

where there is common ground, including the principle of 50-percent reductions in the nuclear arms of the sides appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe. During the elaboration of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk taking into account the development of talks in Geneva and the questions discussed at them. They noted with satisfaction such recent steps in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the United States to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the nonproliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the treaty, *inter alia* by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent review conference of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

The USSR and the United States reaffirm their commitment, assumed by them under the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with Article V of the treaty.

The two sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-U.S. consultations on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons which have been business-like and constructive and express the intent to continue this practice in the future.

In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to step up efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter.

The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions at the expert level on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to embark on a discussion of the question of preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons.

The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and expressed their willingness to work for positive results there.

Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a document which would both include mutually acceptable confidence- and security-building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force.

The two leaders emphasized the potential importance of the work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, in this connection, advocated the widest practicable development of international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit of all mankind.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SOVIET COMMENT ON SUMMIT RESULTS

TV Report

OW221429 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1115 GMT 22 Nov 85

[*"The World Today" program, presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov*]

[Text] Hello, comrades. In our program today we shall concentrate only on the results of the summit meeting in Geneva, the more so since they affect all countries and peoples, and reply to the innermost thoughts of millions of peoples in the world.

The floodlights at the international press center in Geneva, where during these exciting days an army of journalists and television reporters from the most varied states worked strenuously, have gone out. The Soviet mission near the Geneva Palace of Nations and the Fleur d'Eau villa, where many hours of talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, as well as the plenary session of the Soviet and U.S. delegations, took place, have assumed their customary appearance.

Both leaders of the two great powers left hospitable Geneva in an optimistic mood. Journalists have stopped complaining about the blackout [preceding word in English] -- an informational silence -- which for 2 days surrounded the talks of the Soviet leader and the U.S. President on key problems of today. The issues discussed at the summit meeting were too serious and affected the destiny of all mankind too much, to give premature grounds for false rumors and speculation, which certain Western journalists willingly pursue.

Now, the results of the Geneva meeting have become the property of the entire world. They are embodied in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement. Mikhail Sergeyevich discussed the results of his talks with President Reagan at the press conference in Geneva before his departure for Prague, where, as you know, a meeting of the supreme leaders of the Warsaw Pact states took place. From Geneva, the U.S. President headed for Brussels, where he addressed a special session of the NATO Council. On the same day, Reagan arrived in Washington and gave a detailed account of the summit meeting at a joint session of both houses of the U.S. Congress.

Numerous responses to the results of the talks between Comrade Gorbachev and Reagan have already appeared. For now, it is very difficult get an overview of this picture of responses, statements, and various opinions; therefore, we shall concentrate our attention on the most important things.

At the press conference in Geneva, which aroused great interest among those present and the millions of people who watched it on television, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee gave a principled assessment of the summit meeting. He stressed that the Geneva meeting was an important state in Soviet U.S. relations. It provides a basis to search for ways of improving and normalizing them in all directions. If this searching continues in further joint efforts by both sides, it would contribute to improving the world situation.

You know that most of the meetings in Geneva were conducted in private, and this, according to the participants, played a decisive role. The leaders of the two great powers, who bear enormous responsibility for the destiny of human civilization, comprehensively discussed the main issues of Soviet-U.S. relations and the contemporary international situation.

The conclusion of the Soviet side was this: The time has come when, under the threat of universal nuclear danger, one has to learn the great skill of living together. This thought, which Comrade Gorbachev expressed at the press conference, found a responsive chord even in those Western politicians and journalists who have become accustomed to operating in propagandistic stereotypes. It is significant that they were practically no provocative questions at the press conference in Geneva. Many U.S. commentators called the performance of the Soviet leader a magnificent exposition of our country's position on the fundamental and most acute problems of today.

This position is well known to all of us. A few months before the Geneva meeting, the Soviet Union began paving the way for it and creating a favorable climate. It unilaterally ceased all nuclear explosions and expressed readiness to immediately resume talks on the complete termination of nuclear tests. We also confirmed our unilateral moratorium on testing antisatellite weapons. During his visit to France, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, on behalf of the Soviet leadership, introduced radical proposals on reducing the nuclear arsenals of the two great powers. Our proposal not to permit a transfer of the arms race into space was also accompanied by proposals on developing the broadest international cooperation in the peaceful research and use of space for the good of all peoples.

The whole world properly assessed the constructive position of the Soviet Union. After all, its main goal was to break the dangerous course of events. Of course, neither Moscow, Washington, nor other capitals had any illusions that the 2-day summit meeting could settle -- like waving a magic wand -- all the differences between the USSR and the United States on the key issues of arms control, the more so that we all know how far the United States has gone in militarizing its economy and even political thinking, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said.

But we well understood, he noted at the Geneva press conference, that the world position is too dangerous to neglect even the smallest chance to correct the situation and advance to a more stable and lasting peace.

Was this able to be done during the talks between the Soviet and American leaders? The frank and, at times, sharp dialogue in Geneva was very useful. This was the opinion of not only the participants in the dialogue, but also of the prominent state and public figures of many countries.

In that score, we already have a clear picture. This is the collective assessment of the supreme leaders of the Warsaw Pact states. At their meeting in Prague, they highly assessed the exceptionally important contribution of promoting the jointly developed

peace-loving positions of the socialist community countries made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee during the Geneva meeting.

Although Geneva did not succeed in solving the concrete problems of arms limitation and reduction it is of great significance that this meeting confirmed the Soviet-U.S. agreement, reached in January this year, on the need to search for ways of preventing the arms race in space and terminating it on earth.

Perhaps one of the most important results of the meeting of the Soviet leader and U.S. President was the provisions recorded in the joint statement. I shall cite them: Having discussed the key issues of security, the sides -- in recognizing the particular responsibility of the USSR and the United States in the cause of preserving peace -- declare that a nuclear war must never be unleashed. There can be no winner in one. It is also significant that the leaders of the two great powers emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, nuclear or conventional.

The great importance of the Geneva meeting is that it also laid the basis for dialogue, with the goal of achieving a change for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the world in general. It is obvious that the results of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan create more favorable opportunities for improving the international situation and a return to detente. Now, it is very important that these opportunities, which have opened up as a result of the constructive efforts of the Soviet leadership, be transformed into practical deeds by both powers, both in issues concerning international peace and bilateral relations.

First of all, work at bilateral talks on nuclear and space arms must be accelerated to fulfill the task set by the January 1985 statement on behalf of the two countries. This task has now been confirmed with new force by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Meanwhile, one must say frankly that despite the fact that, during talks with President Reagan, Comrade Gorbachev profoundly and validly told him why the Soviet Union is opposed to the so-called U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, which is essentially a preparation for "star wars," there are many influential forces in Washington who, even now, realistically uphold this position.

One of them is U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who, as you know, made so much noise with his clumsy advice to the President when Reagan was flying to the Geneva meeting. Weinberger's commentary, with which we became acquainted today, is maintained in the former spirit. The United States, Casper Weinberger stated, must continue work in the sphere of the Strategic Defense Initiative without weakening its efforts.

The Soviet position on the issue was earnestly outlined at the press conference in Geneva. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as you remember, quoted a famous sentence of former U.S. President Johnson, who one day said that the nation that rules in space will also rule on earth. Somebody, said the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is itching to achieve world domination and look at the world from above. These are old ambitions of past years. The world has changed greatly in many respects. Washington is clearly mistaken in thinking that the implementation of the so-called SDI will place our country in a difficult position. Naturally, we shall find an answer, said Comrade Gorbachev. In its time, the Soviet leadership had given appropriate instructions to competent organizations and scientists, and we can say that our response will be effective, less costly, and may be implemented in a shorter term. Our political choice does not lie here. The Soviet Union is ready for radical nuclear arms reductions on the condition that the door is firmly closed for the development of the arms race in space.

At their meeting in Prague, supreme leaders of Warsaw Pact states declared once again that they are not striving for military superiority and will not allow it to be imposed on them.

The participants in the Prague meeting have announced their determination to coordinate their actions, continuing to do their utmost to achieve a turn for the better in European and world affairs. It is clear that the unity and solidarity of allied socialist countries and their growing interaction in all the fields have a great and fundamental importance in the current complicated international situation.

I would like to acquaint you with reactions to the Geneva summit meeting which have come from other states. First, the participants in the NATO Council session in Brussels, which was attended by Reagan and the heads of governments of other states of this military bloc with the exception of the French President and the Greek Prime Minister, expressed satisfaction at the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva. Speaking about his conversations with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachy, President Reagan himself said: Much divides us; yet the world breathes easier because we have met in Geneva.

Today we received a report on Ronald Reagan's speech in the U.S. Congress. He said that the meeting was useful for both sides. It has enabled the leaders of the two great powers to hold a productive direct dialogue during which, with the exclusion of key issues, definite progress has been achieved. The Geneva meeting, said the U.S. President, opened the way in the correct direction.

Here are points of view of leaders of other Western countries: Speaking at her press conference in London after returning from Brussels, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said: The meeting in Geneva was constructive and is a good basis for building relations of mutual confidence in the future. Whatever the difficulties, said the head of the British Government, they are being discussed; and therefore there is now more hope for their solution than most probably existed before Geneva.

French President Mitterrand spoke positively about the Geneva meeting. He called it a sign of hope. The two great powers, who bear the greatest responsibility for preserving peace, said the head of the French state, also represent great interests, many millions in nations which have experienced war and properly understand their responsibility regarding others. There is no ground at all for not trusting their abilities, said Francois Mitterrand.

There is a brilliant aphorism about policy being the art of the possible. During the Geneva summit meeting our country proved that it possesses this art. On behalf of the Soviet leadership, on behalf of all our people, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev declared in Geneva that the Soviet Union will make every effort to ensure that cooperation with the United States leads to the practical solution of the task of curtailing the arms race, reducing stockpiled arsenals, and providing conditions for a stable peace between our peoples, and a lasting peace on earth and in space.

USSR's Israelyan Addresses UN

LD231532 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 23 Nov 85

[Text] New York, 23 Nov (TASS)--By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev.

The Soviet delegation to the First Committee (political and security, including disarmament) of the UN General Assembly has drawn the world community's attention to the results of the meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

In a special resolution in connection with the Geneva summit, the United Nations expressed the hope that it will give a decisive impetus to the talks on curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament.

Soviet representative Viktor Israelyan quoted the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as saying in Geneva "we have seen that we have, it seems to me, things in common which can serve as an initial premise for improving Soviet-American relations: the understanding of the fact that nuclear war is inadmissible, that it cannot be waged and there can be no winners in it."

To assess the results of the Geneva meeting correctly, we ought to be realists, Israelyan stressed, and quoted another remark made by Mikhail Gorbachev: "We did not succeed in reaching at this meeting the solution of the most important issues connected with the task of ending the arms race and strengthening peace. There are important disagreements on matters of principle that remain between us. However the President and I have agreed that this work of seeking mutually acceptable solutions to these issues will be continued here in Geneva by our representatives."

The Soviet Union believes that the true significance of the summit may manifest itself only in concrete deeds, Viktor Israelyan said further. For that, both sides should carry out a great deal of work in the spirit of the joint Soviet-American statement. The Soviet Union, for its part, will exert maximum effort so as to seek in cooperation with the United States a practical solution of the tasks of curbing the arms race, reducing the accumulated arsenals and ensuring conditions for lasting peace between our peoples, safe peace on earth and in outer space. We declare this with the full understanding of our responsibility for our own people and the other peoples of the world, Israelyan stressed, and would like very much to expect a similar attitude from the U.S. Administration. We firmly declare that it is possible to stop the arms race and achieve radical cuts in nuclear armaments if there is no arms race in outer space.

Zorin Reviews 'Vital' Summit

LD241046 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 23 Nov 85

["Moscow Viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] I've been writing this commentary in the half-empty room of what has for several days been the center of the world's press. It was from this room that newsmen sent their dispatches briefing the world on the progress of the vital Soviet-American summit. Most of the press corps that covered the summit left Geneva after the departure of the participants. But some newsmen have lingered on to take a last look at the summit scene and write their stories.

This summit was exceptionally important. After a break of 6 and 1/2 years, the leaders of the two countries met in order to try and find solutions that would largely determine the future of the world. I happened to see their first encounter. Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan seemed to be carefully sizing up each other as they shook hands, as if trying to match what they saw to what they were told of each other before. The summit was largely a tete-a-tete affair. The two men spent a total of about 6 hours talking with each other in private. It's hard to overestimate the importance of the contacts that were bound to remove some prejudices.

The dialogue that has begun is important, but what will result from this will even be more important. The Soviet leader noted this at his final news conference which aroused great interest. As for the Soviet Union, it proved its desire to act in good faith with concrete deeds, both in the period leading up to the summit and during it. Prior to the summit it unilaterally suspended nuclear tests and called for drastic cuts in strategic weapons. At the summit itself its attitude was just as constructive. Most of the political observers who followed the talks have spoken of these moves in positive terms.

The newsmen were specially impressed by the Soviet leader's words that today confrontation between the two systems was a matter of choosing between survival and mutual destruction. In the face of the threat of nuclear obliteration, he said, it's time for us to learn to live in peace. The summit is also important in that it called public attention to this sinister dilemma. It alerted people to the need for urgent action to stop the increasingly dangerous arms race. To talk of peace while carrying on with arms build-up and preparing the militarization of space, as Washington does, is apparently becoming more and more difficult. At Geneva the U.S. Administration showed a lack of readiness for solving problems vital for an end to the arms race. It's yet to summon its resolve and political foresight to meet the constructive Soviet proposals halfway.

But that, of course, doesn't mean the summit was a failure. Every action needs a beginning. Anyway, it remains to be seen if Washington is aware that humanity is facing perhaps the most critical stage in its history and whether more steps will follow the summit and the accords it produced.

PRAVDA: New 'Psychological Climate'

PM221907 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 85 First Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA special correspondents V. Bolshakov, Ye. Grigoryev, B. Dubrovin, and T. Kolesnichenko: "After Geneva"]

[Text] Geneva, 22 Nov -- One after the other the Ilyushin-62 and the Boeing-707 aircraft took off into the gray Geneva sky carrying the participants in the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. Geneva immediately assumed its normal appearance. Last night, when we left the international press center on the third story of which the temporary PRAVDA correspondents' center was located, it was hard to believe that only that morning it had been brimming with life. In the morning the concluding ceremony of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting had been held at the press center; and then right here, in this and other rooms, those who unfortunately could not get into the press conference because of the limited seating followed on the big screens, intently seizing on every word, the televised press conference given by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. And if you consider that almost 4,000 press representatives from all over the world were working in Geneva during those days, the latter were of course in the majority. And for a long time after that, the clatter

of typewriters could still be heard there, lines formed at the Telex machines and the international telephone booths, while Swiss television commentators went on the air repeatedly with special items presenting viewers primarily with scenes from the press conference given by the Soviet leaders, whose frankness, logic, and good will made a tremendous impression on all here as evidenced and mirrored in the press today. The newspaper LA SUISSE, carrying a report on the press conference, wrote: "The Soviet leader addressed a message of peace to the whole world."

People throughout the world looked forward with impatience to the Geneva meeting. For under present conditions, it is not just a question of the antagonism of two social systems, but also of a choice between survival and mutual destruction. Mountains of the most lethal weapons have been stockpiled and continue to grow. The political and perhaps even psychological "supertask" of this summit meeting was to halt this dangerous process, to build a bridge of mutual understanding, and to secure at least a minimum of mutual trust.

If we take the basic problems of securing disarmament and halting the arms race, this meeting did not manage to untie the knots of these problems. The U.S. side proved to remain unready to proceed from reality and a sense of responsibility and agree to the radical steps proposed by the Soviet Union. The militarization of the economy and to a certain extent of U.S. political thinking has gone too far.

Whence, then, the -- we would say -- general optimism and satisfaction with which most of them who have observed this major event of international life at close quarters are leaving Geneva? Why, although no miracle has happened and the mountains of accumulated weapons have still not been reduced in the slightest, has there suddenly been a breath of something new in the air, as at the end of a long and still frosty winter? Clearly this is a case of the distinct emergency of new impulses which are setting world politics in motion and in a direction which accords with the peoples' aspirations and interests.

On the eve of the Geneva meeting, there were several pessimists at the press center. According to them, the polarity of the USSR and U.S. positions was so great that there could be no question of points of contact.

But yesterday everybody received the joint Soviet-U.S. statement, which not only recorded the common understanding of a number of fundamentally important tenets for the preservation of peace but also laid down tasks for joint activity along the main avenues, by which is implied preventing an arms race in space and halting it on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear weapons, and strengthening strategic stability.

No, it is not a case of putting the pessimists to shame; it is just that the atmosphere of confrontation gives rise to its own "way of life," its own habits, and its own stereotyped ways of thinking which are difficult to give up. A well-known West German observer, witness of many Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, told us that the current Geneva meeting was perhaps notable for the special directness of the dialogue, whose participants, in his opinion, had not only not avoided acute problems but on the contrary had tried to "hammer out that hot iron." It is extremely important, this journalist concluded, that the leader of the U.S. Administration became directly acquainted with Soviet views himself, and not via his advisers.

Much has been said here about these latter, and that is no accident. For it is no secret that right up until the last minute before the meeting, the U.S. Administration had not worked out a general line with regard to the Soviet-U.S. talks. Let us

just recall the notorious "Weinberger letter." Reportage today by a U.S. ABC television correspondent, for example, said that "to many people's surprise, the prolonged one-on-one conversations between R. Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev have dominated this summit meeting. The President's advisers were divided in their opinions as to whether the President should have such long meetings in private." And one of the adviser's words were cited here: "I would not recommend this." And this is what an NBC political observer reported: "The present summit meeting will be remembered for a long time. The two most influential statesmen of today, occupying diametrically opposed ideological positions, have met. The long one-on-one conversations, attended only by the interpreters, were unusual. As far as can be judged, Reagan has spent more time alone with M.S. Gorbachev than with any other state leader."

The importance of these meetings cannot be measured simply arithmetically -- by their number and duration -- but also by the categories of higher mathematics in world politics.

The productiveness of these meetings and of the plenary sessions and extensive contacts between the members of the delegations is measured above all by the fact that a new psychological climate was created in Geneva and there was a quest for a new joint approach toward the fundamental problem of the present day.

The key to preserving life on earth lies in political wisdom. But what is wisdom in life and in politics? Horace believed that "the first condition for wisdom is to rid oneself of prejudices." Is this thought not topical even in our day? Is it not foolhardy to stockpile nuclear arsenals which are already hard to control and in addition to attempt to move the arms race into space?

Back in the 19th century, the British politician Theodore Parker noted: "Reason is stronger than guns." Yet the reality of our day also confirms this simple truth: Only through a political settlement is it possible to resolve the most burning problems of the present day and settle the conflicts which are rending the planet.

We also remember the words of Stefan Zweig, who, incidentally, knew Switzerland well: "The first sign of real political wisdom is always the ability to abandon in advance what is unfeasible." And anyone's superiority and rule is unfeasible in the world today.

Very serious and necessary work with a consideration for existing realities took place in Geneva. That common element was found which can be a starting point for improving Soviet-U.S. relations and consequently the world situation. That element is an understanding of the fact that nuclear war is impermissible, that it cannot be waged, and that there can be no victors in it.

Naturally the world is now paying attention primarily to the fact that, in the joint statement, the sides noted the importance of preventing any war between them -- nuclear or conventional. They assured the world they will not seek to achieve military superiority. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President, having discussed questions of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space armaments, agreed -- commentators are drawing special attention to the fact -- that work at these talks will be accelerated. What they have in mind here is the fulfillment of the tasks set in the Soviet-U.S. statement of 8 January this year. As is well known, it formulates them clearly: preventing the arms race in space and halting it on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and strengthening strategic stability.

During the meeting other avenues were also agreed for efforts to seek mutually acceptable decisions aimed at achieving progress in reducing the danger of nuclear war and strengthening security.

Naturally, the importance of the accords reached in Geneva can only be displayed in specific practical deeds. Yes, specific steps are what is needed above all. The Soviet side is proposing a realistic, truly radical program of arms reduction. It cannot be allowed to break into space. [sentence as published] The "star wars" program is not simply lashing on the race in all types of arms, it could also make it irreversible.

Many people in the United States also understand this, but it is being suggested to these people that people do not distrust each other because they are armed, but arm themselves because they do not trust each other. That was the foundation for many speculations, including the "vindication" of the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" -- the "star wars" program. At the Geneva meeting these speculations were countered by the true state of affairs. In the international press center no one concealed the tremendous impression made by the Soviet leader's statements to the effect that if there is an accord on banning the putting of weapons into space, we are prepared to open our laboratories on a reciprocal basis for monitoring the observance of these accords. An accord on keeping space peaceful is a very important problem of our day. As the well-known U.S.-observer D. Schorr said to us while imparting his impressions of the Geneva meeting, people will ultimately judge its results by what is achieved in the prevention of the militarization of space and the reduction of nuclear arms.

Of course, in 2 days it was impossible to eliminate all the obstacles which have accumulated over the years, piling up on the paths of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations. Trust is not restored at once. This process is a hard one. But the Geneva summit meeting is the start of dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better both in Soviet-U.S. relations and throughout the world.

That is the hope which is being expressed here by many observers and commentators as they leave hospitable Geneva. Common sense must triumph. That is a requirement of the times.

'Off To Good Start'

PM241750 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Nov 85 p 3

[Political Observer Nikolay Pastukhov "View of Events": "Geneva; A Good Start"]

[Text] So yet another page in the history of modern international relations has been turned. The long-awaited Soviet-U.S. summit has been held. Did it justify the hopes that people of good will pinned on it?

It is still too early to talk about the final results of the summit. We will learn of them later, when the practical implementation of the accords reached in Geneva begins.

But it is clear that the very fact that a dialogue was held between the top leaders of the USSR and the United States and that they expressed a desire to put a stop to confrontation and to switch interstate relations to the path of peaceful coexistence is an event of enormous, historic importance.

The peoples and sober-minded politicians from all countries and continents are interested in improving Soviet-U.S. relations, because, as past experience shows, an improvement in relations has a favorable influence on the international situation; whereas deteriorating relations, let alone confrontation, leads to an exacerbation of tension. That is why the first steps taken by the USSR and United States in Geneva have been welcomed so warmly worldwide.

As for our country's position, it was clearly formulated in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program that is currently being discussed by the entire Soviet people. "The CPSU," it stresses, "advocates normal and stable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States -- which presuppose noninterference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, recognition and practical implementation of the principle of identical security, and the establishment on that basis of the greatest possible mutual trust."

Differences in social systems and ideologies have not stopped us in the past from cooperating closely in wartime against German fascism and Japanese militarism and since the war, for instance, in creating the United Nations Organization and in preparing for and holding the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It should be noted that in the seventies the two countries put a stop to the "cold war" and embarked on the path of detente, taking mutual interests into account in concluding treaties and agreements on banning nuclear tests in three environments, on limiting strategic arms, on ABM defense, on preventing nuclear war, and others.

But the unchecked militarism engendered by the U.S. military-industrial complex attempted to erase all the positive things that had been amassed in Soviet-U.S. relations. This policy wrecked detente, exacerbated international relations, and placed all mankind on the brink of a nuclear missile war which could have irreparable consequences. That is why it is no accident that the draft new edition of our party's program poses in a timely way the task: "The CPSU is convinced that both powers' policies must be geared to mutual understanding and not to enmity, which brings with it the threat of catastrophic consequences both for the Soviet and U.S. peoples and for all other peoples."

Thus, the trip to Geneva by the Soviet delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was the practical implementation of the will of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, which have chosen the Leninist path of peaceful coexistence in the international arena.

It is unanimously recognized by prestigious international circles that the Soviet-U.S. Geneva summit has gotten the resumption of dialogue off to a good start. This is stated in the Soviet-U.S. joint statement. Although both sides also recognize the serious differences existing between them on a number of key issues, they nevertheless agreed on the need to improve USSR-U.S. relations and the international situation as a whole. Both sides stated that nuclear war must never be unleashed; there can be no winners in such a war. They stressed the importance of preventing any war between them -- nuclear or conventional -- and stated that they will not strive to achieve military superiority for the USSR or the United States, reaffirmed their adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and advocated the universal and total prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of those weapons. The USSR and the United States

intend to expand programs of bilateral cultural, educational, scientific, and technical exchanges and to develop trade and economic ties. The sides agreed to contribute through joint research and practical measures to carrying out the global task of protecting the environment.

The Soviet and U.S. leaders stressed the potential importance of work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes, and in this connection advocated the practical development in every possible way of international cooperation in the sphere of obtaining this essentially inexhaustible source of energy for the benefit of all mankind.

But does this mean that Geneva resolved all the problems of contemporary international relations? By no means. There will be a dogged struggle on the key question at the summit: to ensure disarmament and to prevent the militarization of space. Speaking at the press conference at the end of the Soviet-U.S. talks, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed: "We are prepared to radically reduce nuclear weapons provided that the door is slammed shut on launching an arms race in space."

Of course, the U.S. militarist lobby has substantially entrenched positions and will oppose the implementation of the Geneva accords in every possible way. This was clearly attested by the secret letter from Pentagon chief C. Weinberger to President R. Reagan that was accidentally made public. The letter, as is well known, contained recommendations that a "hard line" be taken at the Geneva talks and that no arms control measures be agreed to which would jeopardize U.S. military programs and their plans for the militarization of space.

And, of course, it is also worth noting that while the talks were being held in Geneva, Lockheed missiles and space company, a U.S. military-industrial complex corporation, hastened to report that it intends to embark at the start of next year on the creation [sozdaniye] and testing of an interceptor for the ERIS project (a system for intercepting missile warheads outside the atmosphere) -- an important element in the "star wars" program. And at a space technology conference in Colorado Springs, Lieutenant General J. Abramson, leader of this program, again advocated accelerating the implementation of the "star wars" idea and reviewing the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty.

It will be difficult to overcome the resistance of the U.S. hawks. But something else is important. Geneva will give a new boost to antiwar movements, particularly in the United States, where they unite more and more powerful forces drawn from even the top-most U.S. elite. The United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement have taken an active stance against the arms race. France and a whole series of other capitalist countries are opposing the "star wars" program. All this is just the beginning. The main battle for peace and for the spirit of Geneva is yet to come. And the Washington hawks will have to take account of that whether they like it or not. It is becoming harder and harder for them to swim against the turbulent, cleansing tide of the broadest world public circles.

The Soviet delegation's thoughts, ideas, and proposals at the Geneva talks are an expression of the collective sense of the entire socialist community. That is attested to by the meeting of top Warsaw Pact leaders in Prague 21 November. They expressed total support for the constructive position put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the talks with U.S. President R. Reagan in the spirit of the joint line expressed in the 23 October 1985 Warsaw Pact statement.

Prague reaffirmed the fraternal socialist states' principled course of removing the threat of nuclear war, ending the arms race on earth and preventing it from spreading to space, ensuring a shift to real disarmament measures, and strengthening universal peace.

Returning to the results of the Geneva talks, it should be noted that, although it was not possible to resolve specific problems of arms limitation and reduction during the talks, the fact that the meeting reaffirmed the January 1985 Soviet-U.S. accord on the need to seek ways of preventing an arms race in space and ending it on earth is of great importance. The joint statement contained in the Geneva summit's concluding document on the impermissibility of nuclear war and the sides' renunciation of efforts for military superiority is of fundamental importance. The great importance of the Geneva summit lies also in the fact that it initiated a dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and in the world as a whole.

'Common Understanding' Achieved

LD251751 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1515 GMT 25 Nov 85

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Throughout the whole of this week the eyes of mankind have been fixed on Geneva and the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, the first in the past 6 and 1/2 years. It is hardly right to give a simple assessment to an event of such importance. The Geneva meeting has started a dialogue aimed at achieving changes for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations and the world in general; it has created opportunities for movement forward.

The joint statement by the Soviet and U.S. leaders that nuclear war must never be unleashed, that there can be no victors in nuclear war, and that neither of the sides will strive toward achieving military superiority; all this of itself is of enormous significance if it is implemented consistently in practical deeds.

Of course, it would have been far better if it had been possible to reach agreement in Geneva on the key problems of ending the arms race. This, unfortunately, did not happen. Major differences continue to remain between the sides on questions of principle. However, it is important that, given all the differences in views and assessments, a common understanding has been revealed on the impermissibility of nuclear war, the threat of which requires that we learn the ability to coexist.

Cardinal changes have taken place in the world over the past decades. Now it is a question not just of the confrontation of two social systems, but of a choice between survival and mutual destruction. Questions of war and peace have been placed at the center of world politics by the very course of history. The pivotal point of Soviet-U.S. relations now is the problem of security; that is to say, the searching for an agreement to ensure identical security for both sides. Accordingly, it is necessary to become accustomed to strategic parity as the natural condition of Soviet-U.S. relations; if there is to be discussion, then it must be about how the level of this parity can be lowered by joint efforts and how the nuclear arsenals can be reduced step by step.

From this, however, yet another conclusion logically follows. Neither the United States nor the USSR must open the door to military rivalry in new spheres -- in

concrete terms, in space. That would not merely whip up the arms race in all directions but would end any restraint of this race and would make it irreversible. It remains to be hoped that these arguments will be taken into consideration in a proper manner by the U.S. side.

Although it was not possible to solve concrete problems of limiting and reducing armaments in Geneva, the January accord between the ministers of foreign affairs was confirmed there, that ways should be sought that would make it possible to prevent an arms race in space and end the arms race on earth. This point of view has now been confirmed at the level of the leaders of both states; importance of principle is attached to this in the Soviet Union.

IZVESTIYA Editorial

PM241833 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 85 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Geneva's Horizons"]

[Text] Three days in Geneva. Three historic days which focused the attention of the world on this Swiss city -- attention which emptomized the expectations and hopes of mankind. Time is indeed a relative concept: only 3 days, but they reflected the past and present of complex and multifaceted international life and the shape of its future. A Soviet-U.S. summit took place on 19-21 November on the shores of Lake Geneva -- a meeting between CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan.

The talks began in the Fleur d'Eau villa and then switched to the Soviet mission's premises on the Avenue de la Paix. The name of the villa literally means "water flower," and the avenue's name is "peace." Inspiring symbols. But, unfortunately, the road to peace -- strong, lasting, and just peace -- is by no means strewn with flowers. There is obstruction after obstruction on this road, massive and menacing obstructions which cannot simply be cleared away.

But the very fact of the meeting -- the first in 6 and 1/2 years -- is a significant event in international life. The Geneva meeting was an important stage in Soviet-U.S. relations. It lays the foundation for a quest for ways of improving and normalizing them in all spheres. If this quest continues in future joint efforts by both sides, it will contribute to an improvement in the world situation. This is the political result of Geneva. And although as many weapons remain in the states' arsenals as there were before the meeting, the world has become a safer place. This is the political impact of Geneva.

The international public greeted the Soviet-U.S. joint statement with enormous satisfaction, especially the part which says that nuclear war must never be unleashed, that there can be no winner in a nuclear war, that any conflict between the USSR and the United States could have disastrous consequences and that is why it is so important to prevent any war -- nuclear or conventional -- between them, and, finally, that they will not seek to achieve military superiority.

Nevertheless, when we talk about overall results of the Geneva meeting, the simple [odnoznachyy] assessment would scarcely be the correct one.

The meeting is too important an event to be viewed in any oversimplified categories. Of course, it would have been better if agreement had been reached in Geneva on the

main, key problem of halting the arms race. But, unfortunately, this did not happen. Why? Because the U.S. side was not ready for major decisions. Yet questions of war and peace were at the core of the Geneva meeting. The ambitions of past years were a factor in the U.S. position -- particularly on the problem of "star wars." In this connection, at his press conference M.S. Gorbachev recalled President Johnson's words to the effect that the nation that rules in space will rule on earth also. "Certain people are obviously itching to attain world domination and gaze at the world from on high," M.S. Gorbachev said.

But the world must not be looked at from on high, it must be viewed with the utmost realism. Then it will be clear that the "star wars" program does not just impart momentum to an arms race involving all types of weapons but could put an end to all curbs on that race. That is the logic, a logic that Washington, laid low by the "star disease," does not like. Only if the United States finds the will and resolve to rethink and reassess all the destructive aspects and consequences of the "star wars" program can the path open up to a constructive solution of problems of international security and cessation of the arms race.

The problem of war and peace is the paramount, crucial problem affecting the interests of all of us who live on earth. This problem has burst into the center of world politics. In present conditions it is not just a question of confrontation between two social systems, but of a choice between survival and mutual destruction. Mankind has reached the point where he must stop, look around, and think and, on the basis of reality, on the basis of a broad approach to the definition of national interests, decide: what to do next! The results of the Geneva meeting have made a considerable contribution to the quest for an answer to this truly Hamletesque question of modern times. A great deal of work has been done. The major problems of relations between our countries and of the current world situation have been discussed in detail, in depth, in the most straightforward and candid way.

The ambiguity of the assessments and realism prompt one to say bluntly: It was not possible at the summit to find a solution to the most important questions linked with the task of ending the arms race and strengthening peace. Major differences on fundamental issues remain between the participants in the talks. However, on the other hand, the Geneva summit made it possible to understand more clearly the nature of Soviet-U.S. differences, to remove certain biased assessments with regard to the USSR and the policy of its leadership, and to clear away some of the prejudices that had been built up. This could have a favorable influence on the further process of the development of events.

The time has come when, under the threat of the universal nuclear danger, it is necessary to learn the great art of living together. The great art of living together is an excellent synonym for the policy of peaceful coexistence, whose vitality has been confirmed by history. It was also objectively confirmed by the Soviet-U.S. summit. The theory and practice of peaceful coexistence are indissolubly linked with the name of Vladimir Ilich Lenin -- the founder of the Soviet state. Peace and socialism are fastened on our banners with an indissoluble chain of logic. That is why Soviet people, in approaching the 27th CPSU Congress, welcome and approve the results of the Geneva summit talks.

The entire socialist world approves them along with us. That was graphically and convincingly demonstrated at the meeting of the top Warsaw Pact leaders in Prague. The meeting participants assessed highly the exceptionally important contribution to

advancing the jointly developed peace-loving positions of the socialist community countries that was made by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary during the Geneva talks.

This graphic comparison was made at the Geneva press conference: "It is well known that when geologists or miners are hit by cave-ins and are in a critical situation, rescue teams go in from both sides to save people." The Soviet Union is consistently and steadily striding along the path of saving the world and mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. We call on the United States to follow that path. Our planet is at an unusually sharp turning point in its history, when people need moments of truth just as they need air to breathe. An urgent need has emerged to disperse the clouds of fables and misunderstandings. What geologists and miners are able to achieve, state leaders should also be able to achieve if they want to be equal to the historic tasks which time inexorably sets them.

Geneva initiated a dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better both in Soviet-U.S. relations and on our entire planet. And in that sense it can be assessed as creating opportunities for movement forward and as providing hope for looking to the future with optimism. Good sense must prevail!

Political Bureau Examines Results

LD251807 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 25 Nov 85

["At the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, November 25 TASS -- Having examined at its sitting the results of the meeting between Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Geneva, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee fully approved the work done by Mikhail Gorbachev, the accords achieved as a result of the talks and the joint statement.

It was pointed out that the Geneva meeting has become a major political event in international life. It is of principle importance that as a result of their meeting the leaders of the USSR and the United States have declared in their joint statement: A nuclear war must never be fought. They emphasized the importance of preventing any war between the USSR and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and undertook not to seek to achieve military superiority. In this respect the results of the talks in Geneva can have a positive effect on changing the political and psychological climate in present-day international relations and their improvement and lessen the risk of outbreak of nuclear war. The meeting has marked the beginning of a dialogue with a view to achieving changes for the better in Soviet-American relations and in the whole world.

It was stressed that the meeting's results reaffirmed convincingly once again the correctness of the initiatives and actions, which are being carried out of late by the CPSU and the Soviet state, directed at resolving the key issues of international security: Diminishing the war menace, effecting a radical turn for the better in inter-state relations on the world arena.

The Political Bureau pointed out that Soviet-American relations will be determined by the sphere of security, the core of which is the problem of preventing the militarization of outer space and the reduction of nuclear armaments in their organic interrela-

tionship. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 25 November, in a report on the meeting, renders the phrase as ...Soviet-American relations will continue to be determined by...] The meeting's results should be used for speeding up the talks on nuclear and space armaments on the basis of the joint Soviet-American statement of January 8, 1985, now reaffirmed at the highest level.

The proposals of both sides have points of contact and make it possible to seek mutually acceptable decisions along the lines of drastically cutting nuclear arms on the condition of a ban on the development of space strike weapons. At the same time the fact of the continuing negotiations in itself should not serve as a justification or a coverup for the arms race. The elimination of the nuclear threat on the basis of preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space and terminating it on earth is a cardinal task. Its fulfillment demands a responsible approach, continuing efforts and a contribution on the part of all states and peace-loving public and political forces.

The long-term significance of the Geneva meeting will show itself in concrete practical actions, and depends upon the readiness of both sides to work on the basis of the joint statement adopted in Geneva. The Soviet Union for its part will do everything necessary to fulfill that task and expects the U.S. Administration to do the same.

In its foreign policy the CPSU will continue proceeding unswervingly from the fact that each people has a sovereign right to go by its own road and choose its friends and allies itself. The correctness and effectiveness of one's policy is determined by one's ability to take account of the realities of the present-day world, the latter's diversity and the existing different, often clashing, interests of numerous and different states and to subordinate the resolution of contentious international problems to the attainment of the prime goal, that of preventing a nuclear war. It is exactly how the CPSU is acting.

The Political Bureau pointed out that it considers it necessary not to slacken efforts in pressing for a radical reduction of arms and for normalizing and improving on this basis the Soviet-American relationship and eliminating the threat of a world war. The understanding reached in Geneva to continue and deepen dialogue between the USSR and the United States, including that at summit level, is called upon to play a substantial role in this.

There are no contradictions which would inevitably doom the USSR and the U.S. to confrontation, let alone war. It is possible to settle problems that come into existence in relations between them only given the strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security and noninfliction of damage on the interests of third countries. Practical questions of bilateral relations between the USSR and the U.S. should be resolved on the basis of mutual benefit and nonintervention in the internal affairs.

In a nuclear age there is no and can be no reasonable alternative to the peaceful co-existence of the states with different social systems. This indisputable truth determines and will continue to determine the Soviet Union's relationship with all countries, including the United States of America.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee noted with satisfaction that the top leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states, at their meeting in Prague on November 21, 1985, assessed M.S. Gorbachev's work in Geneva as an exclusively important contribution to advancing the joint peaceful positions of the countries of the socialist community, of the foreign policy programme adopted at the Sofia, October 1985 meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

Of principled significance are the readiness, confirmed by the meeting's participants, to continue to do everything possible to achieve a turn for the better in European and world affairs, and their unanimously expressed determination to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries, their class solidarity and interaction in all spheres of cooperation.

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR NOTES FOREIGN REACTION TO SUMMIT

U.S. Disarmament Specialist

LD220936 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Washington, November 22 TASS — The results of the Soviet-American summit meeting have shown that real advancement in control over armaments is possible, said here Paul Warnke, a prominent American specialist, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

He denounced the Washington administration's stubborn unwillingness to discuss the question of termination of development of a broad-scale anti-missile defence system with space-based elements. Any attempt to unfold a strategic defence system, he said, will bring about termination of the process of control over armaments and lead to an uncontrolled arms race. The programme of developing a broad-scale anti-missile defence system, he stressed, will not contribute to stronger U.S. national security.

To attain that it is necessary to reduce the arsenals of strategic offensive armaments and to consolidate the ABM Treaty. "To spend hundreds of thousands million dollars and might be a trillion dollars for programmes of exploration and development of the Strategic Defence Initiative which will create a threat to our both countries is a reckless game with security of the United States and the whole world, said Paul Warnke. Compliance with the existing agreements and conclusion of new accords is the only way of removing the nuclear danger, he said.

American Public Reaction

PM251245 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 85 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Tolkunov dispatch: "What Americans Think About the Geneva Meeting"]

[Text] New York, 24 Nov -- People here followed the Geneva summit meeting with unflagging attention. As recent public opinion polls showed, 88 percent believed the elaboration of foundations for reaching accords on nuclear and space arms control must

be the urgent task of the meeting. The speediest reaching of such agreements is advocated by 74 percent of Americans. As also shown by interviews conducted by the newspaper USA TODAY in various parts of the country, this is what the majority of Americans seek.

How, then, have the results of the meeting been perceived here? The press is carrying articles which welcome the start of a dialogue and also the mutual desire expressed in the Soviet-U.S. joint statement to improve Soviet-U.S. relations and to normalize the international situation as a whole. Americans welcome the sides' statement that "nuclear war must never be unleashed, for there can be no winners," their rejection of the desire for military superiority, and their decision to speed up work at the Geneva talks with a view to preventing an arms race in space, ending it on earth, and strengthening strategic stability.

The intention to expand programs of bilateral cultural, educational, scientific, and technical exchanges and joint research and to develop trade and economic ties has also been received positively. J. Giffen, chairman of the Soviet-American Trade and Economic Council, declared this gives hope of the possibility of expanding Trade and concluding mutually advantageous contracts. However, according to him, much here depends on official Washington, which must lift various sanctions and restrictions on which, incidentally, it is primarily the U.S. side that loses out.

At the same time, there is much that cannot fail to put Americans on their guard. It was only the unprecedented growth of protests, both inside and outside the United States, against the very dangerous nuclear and space policy of the White House that made the administration agree to the Geneva meeting and sign the joint statement, G. Ferraro, former Democratic Party candidate for the U.S. vice presidency, believes. E. Markey, member of the House of Representatives, recalls in this connection that no really tangible progress was made at the talks in the matter of nuclear and space arms control.

Evaluating highly the Soviet Union's unilaterally announced moratorium on all nuclear explosions, G. Seaborg, a very well-known physicist, urged official Washington to subscribe to the moratorium and sign a comprehensive treaty in this sphere -- which, according to him, would make a weighty contribution to the cause of curbing the arms race and strengthening the sides' confidence.

However, it can be seen that even the start of a Soviet-U.S. dialogue and any step, even a small one, toward the possibility of arms control is not to the liking of the "hawks" and the military-industrial complex.

The assessments being made in the United States of the results of the summit meeting clearly show two trends: the desire of the overwhelming majority of Americans for mutual understanding with Soviet people and to reach accords without delay on the elimination of the nuclear threat and on nuclear and space arms control, and the fierce resistance to this, the only sensible policy, on the party of militarists and arms magnates.

Australian Prime Minister Hawke

LD251022 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Canberra, November 25 TASS -- Robert Hawke, prime minister of Australia who spoke today at the House of Representatives of the Australian Parliament, stressed the positive impact of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. Admitting that serious and sometimes fundamental differences continued to exist on a number of vital problems, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan pledged to go on with the process of the consolidation of trust and the expansion of a dialogue between the two countries, the prime minister said. We are interested in both countries to live up to their commitments and give a political stimulus to the Geneva talks on arms control, Robert Hawke pointed out. Australia is especially satisfied over new pledges to cooperate in the non-proliferation of nuclear armaments and the limitation of chemical weapons.

FRG'S Willi Brandt

LD261002 Moscow TASS in English 2301 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] San Francisco, November 26 TASS -- The Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva not only served the cause of improving relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., but also opened up prospects for lessening tensions on the international scene, Willi Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, former federal chancellor of the F.R.G., writes in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES. Of special importance, he notes, is +1 ment on speeding up work at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms with a view to preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and strengthening strategic stability. Willi Brandt is of the opinion that the continuing arms race at a time when disarmament talks are underway may jeopardize the position results achieved in Geneva.

GDR'S Honecker

PM261001 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 85 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Mankind"]

[Text] Berlin, 22 Nov -- A scheduled SED Central Committee plenum has begun here. E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, reported to the plenum on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

He stated that this meeting centered its attention on the problems of halting the arms race on earth and preventing it spreading in [as published] outer space. The very existence of mankind depends to a considerable extent on these problems being resolved. The GDR, the other countries of the socialist community, and broad circles of the international public supported the position of the Soviet Union on the eve of the Geneva meeting. At the same time, they demanded the renunciation of the dangerous U.S. "star wars" program, which is giving rise to profound concern among the peoples.

E. Honecker noted that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting must be evaluated positively. Naturally, he said, no one can suppose that every problem will be resolved immediately at this meeting. But there is no doubt that one can say that the conditions for resolving the main problem have become more favorable. The foundations were laid at the meeting for further negotiations on the main problems of war and peace and, at the same time, a series of accords was reached which will help to develop relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The main problem of preventing a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring peace lies, as before, in halting the arms race on earth and preventing it spreading to outer space, stressed the leader of the GDR. Whoever has a serious attitude toward his responsibility to his own people and to mankind must not allow that, as a result of the arms race continuing, the world should enter a stage where the development of the situation would get out of control.

In conclusion, E. Honecker said that a session of the SED Central Committee Politburo had expressed gratitude to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev for the great amount of work he did at the Geneva meeting and for his constructive, principled, and flexible actions in the interests of peace throughout the world and in the interests not only of the peoples of our socialist community, but also of the whole of mankind.

The plenum also heard the SED Central Committee Politburo report, which was submitted by W. Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. A report on the draft national economic plan for 1986 was submitted at the plenum by G. Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

WPC Issues Statement

LD252139 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 25 Nov 85

["Statement of the World Peace Council"--TASS headline]

[Text] Helsinki, November 25 TASS -- The World Peace Council issued today the following statement on the summit meeting in Geneva:

The summit meeting in Geneva between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan is a historic step opening the way to the fulfillment of the aspirations of the peoples, not only of the USSR and the USA, but of all countries of the world for a halt to the nuclear arms race on earth, for the prevention of the militarization of outer space and for the eventual elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

The WPC is of the opinion that this meeting has shown that it is possible to ease tensions in the world, to build confidence, to start a new era of detente and to proceed to really constructive negotiations on the reduction of nuclear arms. We welcome the fact that the leaders of the USSR and the USA have agreed to unite their efforts in order to prevent the danger of nuclear war. New agreements on improving Soviet-American relations will also have a positive effect on the international climate.

The positive results of the summit are to a great extent due to the actions of the worldwide peace movement. World public opinion, anti-war and disarmament movements, movements against aggression and intervention have decisively contributed and will continue to contribute to the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, to the freedom and independence of peoples.

The WPC appeals to all peace forces to do more than ever before for the key task facing humanity -- the prevention of nuclear war. The need is for common actions, in support of the latest peace initiatives, for the banning of space weapons, "star wars" plans, a moratorium on all nuclear tests and a decisive major reduction by 50 per cent in all nuclear weapons. These actions will help to create better conditions for the success of future negotiations on the (?reduction) of nuclear arms.

Conditions are now better than ever for united actions of peace forces. Together all anti-war movements must continue mass actions with new energy, new initiatives, new aspirations, for halting the arms race on earth and in outer space, for the survival of humanity, for social justice and peace, for prosperity for all people.

Foreign Media

PM241915 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 85 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Roundup of own correspondents' and TASS correspondents' reports filed 24 November: "Learning To Live in Peace" -- first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Geneva summit between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan is an important stage in Soviet-U.S. relations which initiates the process of seeking ways of improving and normalizing those relations in all directions. If this quest is continued in further joint efforts by both sides, this will promote an improvement in the situation worldwide. That is the common thought uniting the numerous responses from eminent statesmen, public figures, and the mass media in foreign countries on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit and the Prague meeting of the top Warsaw Pact leaders.

The Soviet-U.S. summit was an important event which marked a victory for the forces of reason, created cracks in the ice of the "cold war," and marked a shift toward a normalization of U.S.-USSR relations, a statement by the Communist Party of the United States Central Committee says. The document, signed by H. Winston, chairman of the Communist Party, and G. Hall, secretary general, stresses that although much remains to be done, the accords reached at the summit testify that the cause of peace can prevail and the possibilities opened up as a result of the Geneva dialogue may be implemented in concrete agreements.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES stresses, today satisfaction is being expressed worldwide that Moscow and Washington have started the dialogue that was broken off more than 6 years ago. Diplomatic circles are attaching great importance to the fact that in the joint statement the USSR and U.S. leaders stressed their intention to prevent an arms race in space and end it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms, and to strengthen strategic stability. Another U.S. newspaper -- THE WASHINGTON POST -- notes: "Speaking at the Geneva press conference, the Soviet leader called on his U.S. partner to save relations between the two great powers from a buildup of tension in order to prevent them from moving toward confrontation and to channel them onto a normal path and toward improvement. M.S. Gorbachev told R. Reagan: "It would be a great mistake if we failed to make use of this chance to turn the situation in Soviet-U.S. relations toward normalization. And that means: toward improving the situation in the world as a whole."

According to a poll conducted among Americans by CBS TV, 83 percent of those polled supported the agreement reached in Geneva on the need to step up dialogue between the

two countries at various levels and place it on a regular footing. "The question of whether M.S. Gorbachev should come to the United States and whether R. Reagan should visit the USSR was invariably answered positively," the poll organizer stated.

ABC TV in its review devoted to the Geneva summit expressed the following opinion: "Intensive negotiations will now begin within the U.S. Government itself. There will be those who will say that it is necessary to preserve the atmosphere created in Geneva and that this is why the President must do anything to meet the Soviet initiatives halfway. But more conservative members of the administration will insist that he follow a hard line."

London's THE TIMES writes: "The fact that the Soviet-U.S. joint statement appeared at all is by itself an achievement that proves that points of contact were found in the views of Moscow and Washington. However, the real test of what was achieved at the summit will come when the Geneva arms control talks are resumed."

Both leaders have stated their intention to accelerate those talks in order to limit and reduce nuclear arsenals so as to increase strategic stability."

The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit are of great importance for the future development of international relations, George Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, stated. French Communists believe that the Geneva talks are opening up a constructive dialogue that has great prospects.

I am very glad that the Geneva summit was held, and I sincerely welcome the decision to regularly hold Soviet-U.S. meetings at various levels, Austrian Federal Chancellor F. Sinowatz stated. Only regular talks can lead to the gradual elimination of serious contradictions. The Soviet-U.S. joint statement contains many decisions worthy of note. Merely the reaffirmation that a nuclear war must never be unleashed and that there can be no winners in one is of immense importance.

The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit have been assessed as hopeful in the Netherlands. "The outcome of the summit is in line with the hopes expressed worldwide," a statement by a Netherlands Foreign Ministry spokesman says. "Our country considers it positive that an accord was reached in Geneva on accelerating the process of arms limitation talks, on expanding USSR-U.S. bilateral contacts, and on agreeing to a follow-up summit."

I believe that the Geneva summit between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan has had a definite positive result, Italian left-wing independent Senator Raniero La Valle stated. The talks between the Soviet and U.S. leaders played an important role in easing confrontation and in developing mutual understanding between the two countries. Today U.S. public opinion cannot fail to see the obvious differences between what certain people tried to tell them and the serious, responsible, and trustworthy line which the Soviet side pursued in Geneva.

Japanese Foreign Minister S. Abe commented on the Geneva meeting by saying: "It was a good start for the future. The accord on reciprocal visits by the U.S. and USSR leaders will contribute to the stabilization of the international situation. Both sides expressed a clear desire to promote nuclear disarmament. We hope that they will move in a direction which will bring fruitful results."

The Australian paper THE AUSTRALIAN writes: "The U.S. President and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary did not work out formulas for a sharp reduction in arma-

ments. But they laid the foundation for warmer relations which could be of enormous significance in terms of preventing a conflict between the great powers. These new relations do not bridge the ideological gulf between the sides, but in due course they may help to relieve considerably the burden of the arms race which rests heavily on both East and West."

The press in the fraternal socialist countries is expressing a high opinion of the Soviet stance at the Geneva talks. Poland's RZECZPOSPOLITA stresses that there is no doubt that the USSR will continue in the future to make every effort to achieve a practical solution of the tasks of halting the arms race and strengthening peace. As the meeting of the Warsaw Pact states' top leaders showed, acting in a concerted fashion, to continue to do all they can to achieve a change for the better in European and world affairs. They are unanimous that in complex international conditions the unity and cohesion of the allied socialist countries, class solidarity, and increasing collaboration in all spheres of cooperation are of paramount significance.

The world public's attention was fixed on the results of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (GDR) points out. The statement on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and on the two sides' renunciation of the quest for military superiority, contained in the meeting's joint final document, is of fundamental importance.

Cuban Foreign Minister I. Malmierca said: "The atmosphere of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan gives mankind hope that world peace can be strengthened. We fully share the view that military superiority on the part of one of the great powers cannot guarantee mankind's deliverance from nuclear war."

The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting certainly accord with the interests of the peoples of the whole world, is the summary of the Syrian paper AL-THAWRAH. Hope has emerged of a successful continuation of the dialogue between the two great powers in the interests of relaxation of international tension and prevention of a new war. The Geneva meeting is evidence of the vitality of the ideas of peace and international security and equal cooperation.

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CSO: 5200/1167

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR'S ZAGLADIN INTERVIEWED ON SUMMIT IN PORTUGUESE PAPER

PM221545 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Nov 85 pp 9-11

[Interview with First Deputy Chief of CPSU Central Committee's International Department Vadim Zagladin by Antunes Ferreira in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: How do you view the possibility of coexistence between the two big world blocs?

Vadim Zagladin: We view that issue more broadly. We talk about coexistence -- coexistence among states with different social systems, including, of course, the states belonging to the two blocs. We believe that coexistence is not only possible but also necessary. Alternative... We can see no alternative, since if we do not coexist, we will not exist.

In the first place, it must be acknowledged that there are great differences between the two existing systems and in different fields, such as the social and political fields. So the question will be: How are these differences, these contradictions, to be resolved? Here there could be two options: either by using force or by advancing along the path of peaceful competition. We are in favor of the latter, because the former -- the use of force -- would be a guarantee of extermination under current conditions of conventional, nuclear, and space arms. I wish to emphasize that we have always declared ourselves in favor of peaceful coexistence; even Vladimir Lenin used to talk about the need for it. He was the originator of this idea, and the course of events and also of military technology confirm his ideas. We realize that peaceful coexistence is also a form of struggle, but a form which excludes extermination. I believe that this competition can proceed in the economic field and in the field of supplies, in our own interest.

We believe that progress along this path is possible.

It Is Difficult To Forecast Results of Summit

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: At this juncture I would like to enter into the details of two points. First, what hopes may be had of the coming summit between Reagan and Gorbachev; and, second, what role do you deem possible for the small countries in this context in which the two superpowers confront each other directly?

Vadim Zagladin: As regards the meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, it is difficult at present to forecast what its results will be. Our stance is very responsible. We have prepared a number of real, specific,

and radical proposals in all aspects -- primarily, of course, in the fields of security and disarmament, in the military context.

However, it is very difficult for us to assess U.S. preparedness, because so far we have heard only statements....

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: I am more interested in Soviet preparedness....

Vadim Zagladin: We have heard statements by various representatives of the U.S. Administration, including the President himself, to the effect that they are also making serious preparations. We are pleased. But why are we concerned? We have made a series of unilateral efforts -- the moratorium on space weapons, the curb on our means of response in Europe, the moratorium on nuclear explosions of any kind. What are the U.S. responses? Practical experiments with regard to space weapons, the continuing of nuclear explosions, and the continued deployment of missiles in Europe. Well, we believe that if these conditions persist, this meeting will produce no results. However, if the United States wishes to sit down and negotiate seriously...., things will be different. Wait and we will soon see.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: The USSR'S latest stances make it possible to say that the Soviet delegation will turn up at the meeting with more advantages, at least propaganda-wise, than the United States. In your opinion, are the Soviet Union's proposals positive, or do they have only a propagandist and psychological effect?

Vadim Zagladin: As we understand it, the word "propaganda" means above all verbal statements in favor of certain things or against those same things. All that the Soviet Union has done is not words; it is actual deeds. For instance, we have stopped nuclear explosions.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: But it is said that you did so because you have already carried out your research program.

Vadim Zagladin: I know that it is said in the West that we have stopped the explosions because we have already carried out the program. The moratorium on the measures in response to the deployment of U.S. missiles is also a deed, and it is a deed which carries a certain danger, because the United States is still increasing the number of those missiles. What is the aim of our conduct? In the first place, to demonstrate that this is a practice brought about by a political will; that is, to continue actions in favor of peace.

Second, to create an atmosphere more favorable to the negotiations. And if the United States regards these actions as "propaganda," why does it not follow the same example; that is, conduct the same "propaganda"?

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: DER SPIEGEL recently published a report to the effect that, irrespective of Soviet statements of the kind which you are now making, SS-20 missiles are still being deployed. Do you wish to comment on this?

Vadim Zagladin: Well, the DER SPIEGEL report has two aspects, two interpretations. They say that we have moved the missiles, but they do not say from where, to where, and when. In the European part of our country there are regions from which the missiles cannot reach West Europe. So we have deployed no more new missiles in that area since the moratorium was announced. The missiles have been deployed in our Far East, but not over the past few weeks. I should remind you that we have stated that,

if we reach an agreement on the deployment of missiles in Europe, we could also freeze the deployment of missiles in the eastern part of the USSR.

Role of Small States

Regarding the role which the small states can play in the area of confrontation between the two big powers, I would like to make a number of remarks to you. First, I should state that the present-day world does not have just two poles. There is West Europe, which has its own importance and significance; there is Japan; there is a new grouping of states which is taking shape in the Pacific region and which already has a political significance; there is Latin America, which also has its voice....

Second, it is clear that there are two states which are economically more powerful, and which are also powerful in the military sense -- the United States and the Soviet Union. But in this connection we proceed from the idea that this supremacy does not give them additional rights with regard to other countries. On the contrary, it increases their responsibility and, above all, the responsibility for maintaining peace.

I know it is sometimes said that there is no scope for action for the small states. This is not true. A specific example is the Helsinki conference. In fact, it was convened because of the role played by the small countries. If, on the one hand, we were pressing for the convening of the conference, the United States did not want it, and it was the Europeans who pushed it through. The same thing happened with regard to the Stockholm conference and other important meetings. Right now slow progress seems to have begun, owing to the initiative of the neutral countries and France. Thus Europe still has its place and plays its role. But at the same time it seems to us that this role could be even greater, even though the ideological and political differences between the countries of East and West Europe are considerable and numerous. But in the field of the expansion of cooperation, there has been no proposal by the West European countries which has been rejected by the East block countries. We may have our own viewpoints, we may propose amendments, but that is what discussion is.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Turning now to the prospects for the future, I would like to know whether you believe that the summit could replace or merely supplement the negotiations normally taking place in Geneva?

Vadim Zagladin: We believe that this meeting will not be a substitute; it will be a complementary element. We hope that this meeting will facilitate the negotiations taking place in Geneva, whose third stage has now begun. It is apparently during this stage that specific proposals, specific ideas, will be discussed.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Will this represent for the USSR the resumption of the former SALT negotiations and, implicitly, their development; or could it be, in the Soviet Union's opinion, a much greater advance?

Vadim Zagladin: Logically, we could view this process as a development, in the sense that it is the continuation of the same path. But, at the same time, they are new negotiations, and their aim, as we understand them, is to move forward. The two SALT agreements were arms limitation agreements. Now we must proceed to reduction.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: As far as reduction is concerned, a new factor has emerged through what is known as "star wars." Is not the Soviet Union also interested in

embarking on a course corresponding to the deployment of a system similar to the U.S. system?

Vadim Zagladin: We are opposed to the militarization of space. Both sides have reconnaissance satellites; however, these are not weapons, and such satellites could be useful in the field of monitoring. With regard to placing weapons in space orbits, we are categorically opposed; and if the United States comes to implement its plans, we will certainly find our own response. It will not necessarily be a copy of the U.S. system. We will choose our own path.

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS: Again in this field, what is your opinion of the French Eureka project?

Vadim Zagladin: As regards this project, I can tell you that not everything is clear to us yet. They say that it is a peaceful project, and we can see that there are many elements in it which could have a peaceful use; but, at the same time, we know that modern technologies can have a dual application, and it is not clear to us at present to which and the greater amount of research will be devoted.... We have some doubts because the same companies which wish to take part in Eureka have also taken part in "star wars." So we will see, we will enquire, and only afterward will we determine our stance.

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CSO: 5200/1167

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

FRENCH CORRESPONDENT ON GENEVA SUMMIT, PROBLEMS

LD212131 Paris Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Text] It is time for cool heads. Since the Americans and the Russians do not intend to make war and will not go as far as to make love, they will continue to make the ice melt. Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev together this morning closed their "new start" summit -- open and useful talks. But what will be the consequences? Jean-Luc Hesse is on the line from Geneva:

In general, the world should be able to breathe easier after Geneva. Dialogue, even if it is difficult, is better suited to the needs of the world at the end of the 20th century than the latent cold war of the past 10 years. Listening to various American officials, one can hear the relief in noting that now that Reagan and Gorbachev know each other bellicose rhetoric will become more difficult for both sides. Thus the framework is now set for an effort to understand each other and, perhaps -- and let us not be too cynical -- for goodwill. Apart from that, everything still remains to be done: disarmament, "star wars," human rights, and regional conflicts. And on this, it is known and Gorbachev and the U.S. secretary of state made it known, as soon as the summit ended, that a gulf still exists. If we closely examine the joint American-Soviet statement, we note that nothing will progress easily. The Kremlin declares itself willing to accept certain checks regarding disarmament, but so far the promises have not been kept. Cultural exchanges are fragile and are often the victim of blunders caused by the international situation. Scientific cooperation quickly unleashes a certain [word indistinct] on the Western side. But the essential aspect emerged clearly during these 2 days: the two big powers want stability.

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CSO: 5200/2559

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

HAGER ASSESSES U.S., USSR SUMMIT STANCES

LD181044 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1347 GMT 16 Nov 85

[*"Extract"* of 16 November speech by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee at a 2-day Ministry of Education conference held at the Dr Theodor Neubauer Pedagogical College, Erfurt--recorded]

[Text] The realization is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the citizens of the GDR that the further strengthening of socialism is a decisive contribution to the protection of peace. The outstanding historic achievements of socialism include, without doubt, the fact that it has been possible, thanks to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, for the GDR and the other socialist countries, in alliance with the other peace forces, to preserve peace in Europe and to prevent a world war, a nuclear inferno, for over 40 years. A sober assessment of the situation in world politics was conducted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in Sofia. Humanity, it was stressed at the meeting, is presently standing at a cross-roads: Either there is success in stopping the arms race, or those forces accelerating the arms race and driving humanity to the edge of a nuclear inferno will gain the upper hand. In their assessment, the Warsaw Pact countries made clear that the cause of the extremely tense and explosive international situation, particularly in the Near East and Central America, lies in the striving of the most aggressive imperialist circles in the United States and NATO for military superiority over the socialist community.

Imperialism wants to exact revenge for its defeat with this sought-after military superiority, and seeks to banish socialism from the world through military blackmail or even war and to reestablish its unrestrained domination over the countries which have freed themselves from their colonial rule. Above all, the unbridled arms build-up and its extension into space are intended to guarantee unprecedented maximum profits for the armaments companies and the military-industrial complex. At the same time, arming has the purpose of finding a way out of the crisis inherent in the imperialist system and, finally, out of its historical defensive position. In this, the aggressive imperialist circles are speculating on a supposed scientific-technological dominance and a temporary technological lead in certain areas over the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact knocked the bottom out of such speculations by stating clearly that the Soviet Union and its allies will never permit U.S. and NATO military superiority.

The military-strategic balance was, is, and remains the inviolable basis and the decisive condition for the preservation and protection of world peace. Guaranteeing this balance at the lowest possible level and thus banishing the danger of a nuclear war demands concrete disarmament measures. To this end, the Warsaw Pact countries presented a bold and constructive program in Sofia, the essential features of which were explained and set out in detail by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Paris, and in other statements. As far as science and technology are concerned, the socialist countries possess all preconditions for bringing their weight to bear in these decisive areas.

We are guided by the view that the present dangerous development can be stopped and that a fundamental change to detente and peaceful coexistence can be achieved. This optimism is based above all on the strength of the socialist community, which has at its disposal all the decisive material opportunities for the prevention of a nuclear war. The policy of dialogue with all forces fighting against a nuclear inferno, affirmed by the Warsaw Pact countries, is being seen more and more as the only practicable alternative to the U.S. strategy of confrontation.

Unease with U.S. plans to militarize space, and with the course of blackmail and of disregard for sovereignty and national interests which the Reagan administration is practicing more and more openly vis-a-vis its own allies, is growing worldwide. Influential political forces in Western Europe, from social democrats and the trade unions to circles of the bourgeoisie, are reconsidering their views on European security. By no means least, the worldwide peace movement has experienced a renewed upswing in view of the growing threat to world peace from the U.S. policy of hazardous confrontation. This is proved, among other things, by the mass actions of the peace forces in the Netherlands and the numerous statements by Nobel Prize laureates, scientists, technicians, and physicians who have raised their voices in warning against Reagan's SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] project for the deployment of weapons systems in space. In view of the concrete peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, which focus on the key issues of stopping the arms race on earth and preventing the militarization of space in an easily comprehensible and convincing manner, the Reagan administration ought to move away from its previous stubborn stances towards practical disarmament agreements.

Great expectations are attached to the forthcoming meeting between Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Reagan, by all peace-loving people. Comrade Erich Honecker said in his interview for the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG that whether it is possible to achieve a change for the better in the international arena depends to a great extent on the summit meeting. My expectations, Erich Honecker said, are aimed at a course being set in the right direction, which is possible with goodwill and a serious approach by both sides. The Soviet Union has affirmed its principled position that the summit meeting must lead to tangible results in the fundamental questions of the protection of peace and stopping the arms race. It has declared itself ready, in talks with American Secretary of State Shultz and with some Noble Prize laureates, to adopt a constructive and flexible approach to issues which need to be solved.

The Reagan administration, however, is so far not ready for constructive treatment of the key issues in international security. Reagan refused to make the space arms program the subject of negotiations. Instead, he wants to focus on regional issues or the so-called human rights problems at the summit: This will not make the talks between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan easy. But we do not labor under any illusions. Even if the Geneva talks improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the fight for peace and disarmament will certainly still have to be fought for a long time with great determination, until recognizable results have been achieved. Even after the Geneva summit talks the fight for peace must continue.

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CSO: 5200/3013

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

URBAN SAYS POLAND MUST NOT BE ON SUMMIT AGENDA

LD191348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] Poland has always appreciated the importance of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and declared itself for their improvement. We attach great importance to the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan beginning in Geneva today, government press spokesman Jerzy Urban said at the start of today's press conference.

We believe this meeting should favorably influence an easing of tension, a decrease in the threat of war, and the achievements of solutions which will be acceptable to both sides. In particular this meeting should serve to restrain the arms race and make impossible its transfer to space.

The government spokesman said that Poland would reject any attempt by President Reagan to refer to the situation in Poland. We are a sovereign country and will not allow ourselves to be spoken about without our participation.

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CSO: 5200/3014

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

POLISH VIEW ON TALKS' START, EXTRA MEETING

LD191601 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Krzysztof Nojna report from Geneva]

[Text] CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan began their historic meeting 2 hours ago. We do not yet have any information concerning the proceedings of the first session, which should be coming to an end just now.

In an hour Leonid Zamyatin will meet with correspondents, and no doubt we will learn then how the Soviet side assesses this session.

At 1430 the two leaders will again hold a 2-hour meeting. Today Ronald Reagan is the host: At exactly 1000 he greeted Mikhail Gorbachev at the entrance of the historic Villa on the Grounds of Fleur d'Eau, near Geneva. Later, both leaders posed inside for a moment for photographers and television crew.

The talks began with a face-to-face meeting in one of the side rooms adjoining the main hall in which those accompanying Gorbachev and Reagan waited, among them the diplomatic heads of both states.

How is this being assessed? On the one hand, everyone clearly sees that there are differences that divide the Soviet Union and the United States. On the other hand, everyone is hoping that since in spite of everything the summit meeting has come about, it cannot end with nothing to show for it. Of course the most important matter is that of space wars. Without the United States turning back from that path, there is no question of halting the arms race. On the other hand, it is known that both leaders will be talking about many other problems. If it turns out to be impossible to achieve a breakthrough in the arms area, can one count on there being some sort of agreement possible that could, for example, help in defusing tensions in various regions of the globe? If such an enormous crowd of journalists has turned up in Geneva -- almost 4,000 of them -- it is not only because all of them are interested, to the same extent, in the chance of breaking off the arms race. When one speaks, for example, with the Arab correspondents, they do not hide the fact that for them, the summit is a great chance for Soviet-American cooperation, without which any sort of long-lasting solution to the Middle East conflict seems to be very problematic.

One can also ask oneself whether, if both leaders were to leave without any agreement on future cooperation in arms control, they would be able, at the same time, to improve bilateral relations to the extent that further dialogue would be possible.

These are questions to which there are no answers; this does not mean, however, that one should lapse into pessimism. Behind-the-scenes rumors say that an extra meeting might come about on Thursday morning [21 November] which would mean that a joint statement or communique is being considered -- that is, that there are areas in which agreement is possible. But what is most important, one must remember, is the arms issue. In this regard, unfortunately, the Americans are taking a remarkably inflexible stance, not wishing to tie their hands with agreements that could interfere in their implementation of military programs.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

POLISH COMMENTARY ON USSR SUMMIT INITIATIVES

LD191745 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Jan Gadowski commentary]

[Text] Where are the opportunities at Geneva, given the different aims of the interlocutors and a completely different view as far as the goal of the negotiations is concerned? Probably mainly in Soviet decisiveness and energetic activity. Under the influence of the Soviet peace offensive, the President of the United States, on the eve of Geneva, changed his vocabulary and his reasoning: He began to speak of agreement and peace. Is this a sign of a breakthrough or a tactical dodge? We shall have an answer today or tomorrow to this question.

But even now one can say that in this change in the propaganda tone of the United States there resides an awareness that the crusading ideology wrought in the White House no support in the world, even among the U.S. allies. On the other hand the Soviet arguments for restraining the arms race, above all in space, find increasing support.

So, the United States fears isolation. This may play a positive role at Geneva, but not a decisive one; for it is not very likely that the American Armed Forces and industrial complex, which has enormous financial and political interests in the arms race, would want to or could change its strategic goals from day to day. A proof of this is the notorious Weinberger letter.

So what can one expect? If all that can be said is that it will be worthwhile to meet again, and just that, it was not worth traveling so far in the first place.

The success of the Geneva summit has a very simple condition: Peace will be more secure if both superpowers accept the mutual right to security on the basis of an equal balance of forces. The Soviet Union recognizes such a right for the United States. Now it is the other side's turn. Now the halting of the course of events toward the worst, toward which, with pitiless logic, the arms race leads, depends solely on the American side.

If the Geneva talks of the leaders of the two world powers provide impetus for a change in the direction in which our world has been heading these past years, the aim of the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev with Ronald Reagan will have been achieved.

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CSO: 5200/3014

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

POLES SEE REAGAN NOT INTERESTED IN REAL NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION

LD201031 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] The morning papers carry extensive reports on the first day of the talks in Geneva between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

TRYBUNA LUDU, in a commentary entitled "Interest and Expectations," writes: We are aware that the Soviet Union and the United States have come to Geneva with opposing views on defusing the existing military confrontation in the world. In the opinion of commentators in the West as well, Ronald Reagan and the aggressive forces which stand behind him are still not interested in a genuine reduction in nuclear armaments; in any case they have no intention of stopping the militarization of space.

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CSO: 5200/3014

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

POLISH REACTION TO WEINBERGER LETTER

LD192326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] The talks in Geneva are passing in a good climate but in secret. The spokesmen will only report on the composition of delegations and the duration of various meetings without entering into any substantive value judgments. During these intensive talks there will, therefore, be no premature opinions or sensational news. The talks have been wrapped up in a thick curtain and only when the meeting is finished will the curtain be lifted.

Let us look, therefore, at the course of today's meeting. It started, as already reported by radio and television, with a long conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan with only the interpreters present in the room. Instead of 15 minutes, they talked for over an hour. What conclusion can be drawn from this, without attempting to speculate and to guess? One can say that such a long private talk indicates how badly needed this Geneva meeting is and how many matters for discussion have accumulated.

As we have already said, we have no information about the content of the talks but on the basis of preparations for this historic meeting and statements made by both sides, and taking into consideration the results of the meetings of the two foreign ministers, one can say that the problems of disarmament are coming to the fore and among them the issue of the demilitarization of space. The Soviet side has presented clear proposals, thus showing not only a flexible attitude but readiness to discuss every topic and to examine any counterproposals.

However, all things considered, such counterproposals have not materialized. Washington offered its old concepts but in new wrapping, striving to achieve military superiority by negotiating. In this context, the letter from Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who persuaded President Reagan to stiffen his attitudes in the Geneva talks, has great significance. This shows how powerful are the forces which act in Washington against the conclusion of an agreement. This, then, was the climate in which the talks started, the talks which are accompanied in spite of all obstacles by the hopes of the whole world.

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END